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ABSTRACT

Attended by participants from 19 nations, this conference focused on six topics related to child and adolescent development. Major topics discussed included child development and related issues, curriculum and the adolescent, the adolescent and technological changes, and the preparation of youth for adulthood. Symposia focusing on child development considered the cognitive development of children, mental abilities of children and adolescents, and child-rearing practices. Those related to issues on child development concerned the mental health of children, the interpersonal relationships of children and adolescents, and the exceptional child. Symposia related to the curriculum and the adolescent dealt with achievement and its correlates, the Tree Drawing Test of cognitive development, and emotional and personality development. Other symposia explored the psychology of adolescents, mental health and adjustment, problems of adolescents and youths, counseling and career planning, sex roles, values, preparation of youth for adulthood, non-formal education for adolescents and youth, and community involvement in preschool education. Two workshop discussions on child development and adolescent development are summarily reported. The former dealt with cognitive development of children; mass media and the child; parenting; emotional and personality development of children; and the education of exceptional children. The latter concerned problems of adolescents; values, culture, and change in relation to adolescent development; schooling and adolescence; preparation for adulthood, and leisure and recreation. Participants' names, institutional affiliations, and addresses are listed. (RH)

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Third Asian Workshop on Child and Adolescent Development

Preparation for Adulthood

Proceedings of the Workshop

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Faculty of Education
University of Malaya
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Opening Address

The Honourable Datuk Khalil b. Yaakob,
Deputy Minister of Education, Malaysia

I am glad that Malaysia is able to host the Third Asian Workshop on Child and Adolescent Development and play a part in the endeavour to help children and adolescents become healthy and effective adults. By helping these youngsters to actualise their potentials, attain mental health and acquire healthy attitudes towards themselves, the society and work, we are also promoting the economic development of the nation. Brain power is necessary to maximise the utilisation of our limited and fast disappearing natural resources and to create new ones. Effective citizens can increase the productivity of the nation while mentally unhealthy citizens are liabilities to the nation. The importance of mental health has been recently recognised by the World Health Organisation and more funds are being channelled to promote mental health.

Howerver, it is not easy to bring up a child in today's society. The rapid advancement in technology makes it imperative for both adults and children to make constant adjustments. Furthermore, advancement in technology has also widened the child's environment which makes control and monitoring difficult. The child is subjected to all kinds of influences, some of which may be beyond the control of parents. This problem is compounded by contradictory theories of child-rearing practices. At one stage, psychologists condemn control and punishment and believe in giving children the freedom to grow and develop. Others prescribe control and discipline, and attribute the unruliness of youths to the lack of parental control during infancy and childhood. Some believe in feeding the child on demand while others follows a strict schedule. These contradictory views confuse many an anxious parents who want the best for their children.

There seems to be more problems among adolescents today than yesterday. Discipline seems to have deteriorated. Adolescents appear to have many hang-ups. Parents either care too much or too little. They either expect too much of their children and pressure them to succeed or they pay little heed to their welfare. Many of the adolescents' problems are said to arise from feelings of insecurity which are attributed to the breakup of the extended family system, broken homes or working mothers who have little time for their families. Others blame the mass media and the influence of western culture and values. Some believe that the rapid pace of modern society, keen competitiveness and materialistic outlook of modern times are the keys to today's problems. We need to identify the roots of these problems if we are to provide conditions that will enable the child to grow up into a mentally healthy adult capable of contributing effectively to the development of society.

However much we may desire for the development of children into mentally healthy adults, we cannot deny that there will always be children, adolescents and adults who are not functioning properly and effectively. Besides discussing the nurturance of children and adolescents, the Workshop should also examine ways to assist youngsters to attain mental health, to acquire self-confidence, to break away from drug addition, to relate to other children and adults, to be self-motivated and to withstand pressures, within and without. In short, while we need to discuss ways to nurture a mentally healthy child capable of actualising his or her potentials, we must not ignore the fact that many children will not have the privileges of being properly nurtured.

To be able to do a good job at nurturing the child or helping a disturbed child or adolescent, we need to have a good knowledge of the development of children and adolescents, and an understanding of the psychology of the child or adolescent. Unfortunately, the psychology of Asian children or adolescents is very much an unexplored territory. We know more about the psychology of the children or adolescents in developed countries than of children and adolescents in our own countries. Some research have been carried out in this area in Asian countries but they tend to be piecemeal. Unfortunately, most of these research findings are also not disseminated. Consequently, even colleagues in their own countries have no knowledge of the findings. This Workshop, therefore, offers opportunities for the dissemination of such knowledge. I am glad that many have taken advantage of these opportunities as shown by the number of research papers that will be presented in this Workshop. Also, I have been informed that Eric Clearing House has requested for the papers. Probably, it is the paucity of knowledge of research in the Third World that prompts this important resource centre to acquire these papers.

The piecemeal, small-scale research is just a beginning. You need to move on not only to nationwide research but also research carried at cross-cultural levels. Comparison across several countries will enable us to have a better understanding of children and adolescents. Cross-cultural comparisons can identify what aspects of human behaviour are universal. Besides, comparative studies also indicate what are the factors and how they affect human development and behaviour. The step towards cross-cultural research is made in this Workshop as one of the main outcomes is the formulation of research proposals for member countries to consider. There are many issues that require investigation and I hope you will take this opportunity to identify common problems among the participating countries. With concerted efforts, we may be able to resolve problems such as drug addiction, adverse influence of the media, examination pressure and indiscipline. An international agency, I am told, is interested in funding the research if it is found to be of importance to the development of the nation and its people.

The chairperson of the Organising Committee has explained why psychologists, researchers and educators outside the Asian countries have been invited. I agree with her that developed, developing and undeveloped countries have much to learn from one another. We, in Asia, can learn from their successes and failures. For instance, we can make use of those techniques which are appropriate to our needs, thus saving us much time if we have to start from the beginning. We can also avoid blind-end alleys. For participants from developed countries, exposure to the psychology of Asian people will help them to have a better understanding of human development and behaviour. Looking at people from a wider perspective will also improve their understanding of their own people.

There should be a free exchange of ideas between researchers and social workers, educators and counsellors. While practitioners benefit from the research findings, researchers also have much to learn from practitioners. If the experiences of the practitioners concur with the research findings, then the researcher has confidence that he has been able to contribute positively to the advancement of knowledge. More important than this is the need to keep the researchers' feet firmly on the ground. The practitioners can perform this important role by informing the researchers what are the pertinent data or what information they need from the researchers. The relationship between the researchers and the practitioners should be symbiotic. The lines of communication between these two groups of people should be kept open not only during the duration of the Workshop but also long after it. This symbiosis will benefit not only these two groups of people but also children, adolescents and the society.

I hope you will benefit both intellectually and socially from this Workshop. Throughout these six days, you should try to learn a little about each other's culture and let this small beginning be the stepping stone to the quest for further knowledge and understanding of the culture of other people. I wish you success in your quest and a happy time during these six days.

Welcoming Address

The Royal Professor Ungku A. Aziz

'The child', postulated Wordsworth, 'is father of the man', The statement is perhaps as true empirically as it is sentient metaphorically and symbolically.

Among this distinguished gathering of professional and trained educationalists whom I have the privilege and honour of addressing this morning, I, as an amateur observer-educator, should not have the temerity to plumb the depths of educational theory and philosophy in this short address.

Rather, I should prefer to maintain the far safer course of touching very briefly on what I have perceived to be a fundamental base for education: its theory, practice, and dispensation – especially in the Third World.

This is the *relationship* between the mind (as an abstract concept), and the brain (as a physical object); and the *distinction* between the two.

To the extent that all thoughts and creative imagination (which represent the mind) emanate from the brain, their relationship is obvious. One perceives clearly, however, the distinction between mental abstraction and capabilities, and the physical brain itself.

The results of medical studies, some of which have been carried out at this university itself, have indicated clearly the deleterious effects of malnutrition (at the foetal, infant and adolescent stages) on mental development.

The child is precursor of the adult. If the brain of the foetus, the infant, or the youth suffers from malnutrition, its capability for absorption is reduced, and perhaps even irreparably affected in adulthood. The adult is thus dominated by the handicaps suffered long years ago. The connotation for education and subsequent achievement is obvious.

There are areas in the Third World which are riddled with poverty and disease such as parasitic infections and other ills which are poverty-related. Their inhabitants are often economically and medically handicapped. Added to this is the factor of Third-World poverty at national levels which militate against the smooth development of social amenities such as tertiary education. At the end of all this, we realise that for a child to be able to enter a university – that is. taste education at its nadir, is a small miracle. It takes a greater miracle or very good educational strategy to make him aware that the lessons taught to him at this level are meaningful and relevant for ordinary living; and useful for extraordinary achievement.

It is expected that in a conference such as this, some of the most advanced theories of education will be explored, together with sophisticated strategies and measurement, and perhaps even exotic case studies.

In the excitement that professionals in any field are likely to experience in the environment of such discussions, I should like to appeal that you bear in mind some of the harsher realities with which the object of education – the student – is likely to be hampered with in this region.

In this way, while it is perhaps necessary, for the sake of visionary advances, to keep your heads in the clouds, you will remember that it is equally necessary to keep your feet planted firmly on the ground. In this manner, whatever steps that are taken in this conference will leave their marks on the sands of time.

I wish you all success in your deliberations. Thank you.

Paper I

Main Theme

Child Development

CHAIRPERSON	***Associate Professor Amir Awang***
RAPPORTEUR	***Miss Raja Maznah Raja Hussain***

On Becoming a Thinker: A Preschool Programme

Irving E. Sigel, Ruth A. Saunders and Catherine E. Moore

INTRODUCTION

Burgeoning interest in developmental processes has strengthened the ties between education and psychology. One of the major tasks facing educators today is that of integrating theoretical insights into educational programmes. When programme effectiveness is an issue, it is the actual implementation of theoretical principles into classroom routine that counts, not simply the elegance and explanatory power of the theory. A crucial need today is to translate general psychological principles into specific strategies for day to day interactions in the classroom.

In an effort to meet this need, the Child Care Research Centre has been developing and evaluating an inquiry-based early childhood education programme guided by principles from Piagetian theory and based on Sigel's distancing hypothesis. This programme includes a detailed set of teaching strategies, a description of classroom organisation and materials for enhancing children's problem-solving ability,- learning to think in symbolic terms and understanding of a variety of communication media (e.g. language, art, gesture and dance). The programme has been in operation for several years at SUNY/Buffalo and Educational Testing Service (ETS). Now ETS offers a series of workshops designed to help practitioners master the techniques developed here.

***'Focus of the programme: representational competencies', 'Examples of lesson plans used in the programme' and 'Place of theory in early education programmes' are written by Ruth A Saunders, Catherine E. Moore and Irving E. Sigel respectively.**

FOCUS OF THE PROGRAMME: REPRESENTATIONAL COMPETENCE

The major focus of the programme is in the area of representational competence. This is a broad term covering abilities in two major areas: (1) in the use of internal mental signs or symbols (ideas) to represent real objects and experience, and (2) in the use of a variety of external physical objects such as pictures or sound patterns (words) to stand for other real objects.

The first of these is what might be referred to as thought proper. It is more than having mental labels for what we see or do and being able to remember them on occasion. It includes a whole set of connections between ideas and methods for putting ideas together. In thinking, we *represent* real things, and we use a coherent *system* for doing so. If we think about rearranging a room, for example, we not only have to imagine tables, chairs, etc. but also mentally move them around and examine the consequences of the changes.

The second kind of ability included in representational competence involves both the comprehension of the media in which knowledge is presented (understanding external representational systems such as language or art) and an understanding that the same idea can be communicated in various ways. The latter understanding can be termed 'conservation of meaning' because of its relationship to other kinds of conservation in the Piagetian system. A child who conserves meaning can, for example, treat a photograph of a dog, a toy dog, the word 'dog,' and a schematic drawing of a dog all as representations of the actual three-dimensional dog. Though their visual qualities differ, the representational function of each of these objects is the same.

Conservations of meaning seem to emerge earlier than some of the conservations of mass, weight or volume that have been studied. One reason is that the child has a wealth of experience with objects presented to him in various media. Exposure alone, however, is not sufficient for such an understanding. The child has to have exposure to, and engagement with, experiences which facilitate his increasing awareness that meanings are not found solely in the media (the medium is not *all* of the message), that ideas can be presented in various forms and still retain their basic meaning, and the child himself can transform the form in which the meaning is presented. For example, a four-year-old can represent a dog by acting like a dog, drawing a picture of a dog, or pointing to a picture of a dog. Later he will be able to write the word 'dog'.

One might think of the two parts of representational competence as reflecting the difference between talking to oneself and communicating something to others. We use one aspect of representational competence to tell ourselves about the real world (to think about clouds, people, fish, bricks, etc.) and another aspect of it to communicate with others about the world and various representations of it.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND AIMS

A number of general principles concerning representational competence guide the preschool programme. The first three establish the basic aims of the programme.

Principle 1: *Humans understand their world through their representations of it.* Thus both aspects of representational competence are adaptive. The first, a well developed representational system enables one to learn from experience. It allows us to use past experience in guiding the adoption of behaviours and beliefs which are well suited to the world we live in. The second, an understanding of external representational systems and their relationships to one another via their representational functions (i.e., conservation of meaning), enables one to learn from the experience of others and to contribute to the knowledge of others by communicating one's own experiences.

Principle 2: *Representational competence develops.* It is neither fully with us at birth nor does it suddenly make an appearance, for example, at puberty. It develops in a sequence of predictable steps with observable outcomes.

Principle 3: *Representational competence develops fully only in response to interactions with the appropriate physical and social environments.* Development can occur in poor environments as well as in good ones but, like good nutrition, good education enhances the growth process and positively affects the outcome.

These three principles point out two major aims for the educational environment. First, we want to create an environment whose physical and social components help the child to refine, elaborate, and extend his or her own internal representational system. Second, we want to help the child understand and use external representational systems. That is, we want to foster the child's developing abilities and we want to instil habits of using these abilities.

How can we create such an envirnment? What will it look like? Three additional principles guide our answer to these two questions.

Principle 4: *Representational competence develops through a process of discrepancy resolution.* Discrepancies come in a variety of guises, all of which share the characteristic that something does not 'fit' with something else. For example, a new piece of information may not fit with our present theory or two facts may seem to contradict directly one another. Three major types of discrepancies can profitably be put to use in our work with children (Sigel and Cocking, in press). These include:

(1) a mismatch between an internal event and an external event – e.g. one's wishes are not fulfilled by the real world or one's theory is not confirmed by the evidence at hand;

(2) a mismatch between two internal events – one recognises that the satisfaction of one wish precludes the satisfaction of another or two parts of our theory contradict one another;

(3) a mismatch between two external events – e.g. ice feels cold but dry ice feels hot.

We resolve such discrepancies by constructing (or, in some cases, discovering) new generalisations which resolve the discrepancy at hand and which are consonant with our other knowledge. The outcome of discrepancy resolution has two major benefits: (1) our generalisations theories, explanations, etc. apply to larger and larger chunks of the world as we extend them to include new information, and (2) our generalisations fit the world more accurately as we revise them in the light of new evidence.

Principle 5: *Representational competence develops only if the child is actively involved in the process.* Discrepancies must be seen and resolved by the child. We can help but we cannot do it all. There are two factors which make this so. First of all, there is a methodological limitation. Since we have no way of actually seeing what is in the child's head, we are forced to rely on the child's reports and interpretations about what is going on. Secondly, there is a constraint postulated by our theory. Development is a *construction* process, not a soaking in of an external system.

Principle 6: *Discrepancies cannot be perceived by the child if the gap is too wide.* To see a discrepancy, the child must have the necessary apparatus in his representational system to be able to represent the two situations and the relation between them. He may also need some experience in the subject matter before he can see that a discrepancy exists. For example, it may not seem strange that a platypus both has fur and lays eggs if I don't know anything about mammals and birds. Finally, a child is not likely to perceive a discrepancy unless he is attending to the relevant information – unless he is interested and motivated.

These principles tell us that (1) we have to make discrepancies visible to each child (2) we have to help children find their own discrepancies to resolve and (3) we have to help children find ways to resolve the discrepancies themselves. Furthermore, the way we do this will vary for each child depending on his or her developmental level, previous experiences and interests. It is clear that we will not be able to rely on a prescriptive list of teacher behaviours, specific schedules, particular room arrangements and standardised activities. Rather, we will have to rely on some guiding principles, some ways to find out information from the children we work with and a set of ideas from which to select appropriate activities, schedules, etc.. We will have to do as much thinking and discrepancy resolving as we ask children to do. We must demand as much of ourselves as we do of children.

BASIC CLASSROOM STRATEGIES

The creation of an optimal environment for growth in representational competence leans heavily on the concept of distancing. Basically, this concept refers to aspects of the environment which, in accord with principles 1 to 6, stimulate the resolution of discrepancies by the child, foster the acquisition of 'conservation of meaning', and result in the growth of the child's internal representational system. Distancing can occur in verbal strategies, activities and materials, and in classroom management (scheduling, rules, etc.).

In defining distancing, the form cannot be distinguished from the content. Thus, one cannot simply give a list of particular verbal strategies, a list of specific questions which together make up the set of verbal distancing behaviours. Whether or not a particular question has the distancing dimension depends on its effect on the person to whom it is directed – or its potential effect given the appropriate motivational state. This follows directly from principles 5 and 6. A question only stimulates discrepancy resolution if the child perceives the discrepancy. Furthermore, whether or not a discrepancy is perceived depends on the *state of the child* as well as on the particular form and content of the inquiry.

This framework is designed to help one determine when and how to use those behaviours and physical materials which have distancing potentials in ways such that their potentials are realised. Distancing potentials are realised when, through luck and/or knowledge, situational demands are appropriately matched to a child's interests and cognitive abilities. If we can decrease the dependence on luck and increase the knowledge base from which to create appropriate situations, we are way ahead of the game. In general, the teacher's knowledge base will consist of two parts (1) knowledge of each particular child with whom one works and (2) knowledge of strategies and procedures which increase the probability both of finding out how those children think (and what they know) and of activating their thinking processes. Fortunately, many of the same strategies which help us to find out what is in the child's mind also serve to activate the child's thought processes. For example, when we ask the right question, instead of simply telling, we find out what the child already knows *and* we stimulate the child to think about the issue.

Distancing behaviours can be used in all aspects of the preschool environment to *activate the child's thinking*. In addition, they help the teacher find out what the child thinks, how the child thinks, and what interests him. In general, one is using distancing behaviours when one tries to:

(1) Ask questions rather than give statements.
(2) Give real choices – the kind where the child makes the decision and is helped to follow through on it.

(3) Wait, watch, and listen while the child is doing something – let the child solve his own problems and discover the consequences of his action (whenever it is safe to do so).

(4) Be responsive when the child initiates and use questions and suggestions in teacher-initiated interactions. (Avoid being a 'TV teacher'.)

(5) Arrange the physical environment to stimulate problem solving (e.g. create or rearrange materials, resources, space, routines, etc.).

(6) Use distancing behaviours in socio-emotional, ethical, aesthetic and motor skill domains as well as in areas typically called 'cognitive'.

These are important considerations, each of which will be discussed in more detail in the sections to follow.

(1) *Ask questions ... .*

Questions are essentially two-way communications: a question usually gets an answer. But questions can do more than that – good questions foster genuine dialogue. Good questions are reasonable, rational and appropriate rather than mere fillers for silence. Simple 'yes-no' questions or 'guess what answer I'm thinking of' are *not* usually the most beneficial. For example, the questions listed under the 'minimise' column below are to be used as little as possible since they require very little mental activity. The questions listed under the 'maximise' column, however, require more mental activity on the part of the respondent and are likely to be followed up with a genuine exchange of information and opinion.

Maximise the use of questions like these:	*Minimise the use of questions like these:*
Tell me about this (object).	What color is this block?
What might have happened?	What is the first thing that will happen, the second, the third, etc.
What if (state opposite) ...?	Is this a spoon?
Why do you think that?	

Questions can be directed towards the understanding of a concept but throughout such a process, *any* answer by the child should be accepted as legitimate – not as an accurate account of reality but as a true reflection of the child's level of thinking and his perception of reality. Follow-up questions are used to help the child move himself closer to more sophisticated understandings. When questions are used to activate thinking, they help the child focus his mental energies on the issue at hand and, in so doing, they help him construct *for himself* the relevant concept.

(2) *Give real choices ....*

Posing conflicting issues or alternatives is an important strategy. For example, one might ask:

> 'If I want to boil an egg, should I put it in a pan with water or without water?' or 'Would you rather build a house with blocks or with wood scraps?'

When a child has to choose between two or more alternatives, he has strong motivation for carefully examining each possibility. This is only true if two conditions are met:

(1) the choices must be mutually exclusive (e.g. you cannot eat your cake and have it too); and

(2) there is some consequence of having made the choice. Thus, if a child is asked whether he would like the soup hot or cold and he chooses cold, he should be given it cold. If he is asked to make a prediction, he should be helped to examine why he puts faith in that alternative. He should be allowed to test it and help to relate the results of the test to his prediction.

When these two conditions are met, the child is likely to be *motivated* to consider each option as thoroughly as he can. However, he still needs help in *knowing how* to weigh options. Questions can be used here to help him consider pertinent details, make inferences and relate pieces of information in a way which allows him to make a rational choice.

(3) *Wait, watch, listen ....*

No matter how good the initial question, its value can be lost by not waiting long enough between question and answer, showing approval only for correct answers or accepting answers without posing alternatives. The child needs a chance to concentrate – he must understand the question and he must formulate an answer. This takes time.

When the child has produced an answer, one can ask further questions to determine the conviction with which a child holds the response and to establish the basis for holding that point of view. These aims hold for both correct and incorrect answers. Both teacher and child benefit from such an exchange: the teacher learns more about the child's view and the child examines his own beliefs more carefully. If given a chance to *test his knowledge himself,* the child may even change his beliefs in accordance with the results. When this happens, he has a good reason for holding the new belief – a better reason than one which depends on having been told to believe it by an 'authority'.

The guiding principle here is that whenever it is safe, *let the child discover the consequences of his action himself.* The teacher's role is to help keep conditions safe for testing consequences and to help the child notice and analyse the consequences. Nonverbal looks, gestures or manipulation of materials may serve as questions which help the child attend to the consequences of his action. Verbal questions, of course, also do their part here.

(4) *Be responsive ....*

A teacher's response to child-initiated questions serves as a model for valuing questions, giving serious thought to questions and turning question asking into a genuine dialogue. A child's plea for information should not be ignored but it does not have to end with a simple statement from the teacher. The teacher can help *the child* solve the problem when strategies like this are used: 'That's a good question; let's figure it out. Is there anything else we know which looks like that when it's wet?'

In many cases, the teacher can help the child devise a way to find the answer to the question. This might involve bringing a snowball inside, asking another child why he is hiding the book or looking on a chart to find out whose turn is next. Questions can be used to help the child think of an appropriate way to get the information. The idea is to free the child from dependence on the teacher – not to be unhelpful or to hide information. For this reason, a good deal of judgement is needed in deciding how much help is to be given and when and how to give it.

In response to a child's question, the teacher engages the child in finding the answer. This is in contrast to the 'TV teacher' who, in an admittedly entertaining and appealing way, takes over the problem and presents its resolution as a completed package.

(5) *Arrange the physical environment ....*

The preschool classroom can be arranged to enhance children's use of problem solving abilities. Blocks near the dramatic play area, for example, lend themselves to use in improvising stoves, beds, etc.. Signs and pictures at children's eye-level enables children to really use them for ideas and information. Activities should be arranged so that potentials for integration are obvious *to the child.* A teacher may remember about the clothspins in the top cupboard but will the child? Keeping materials within children's reach and/or labelling storage spaces with pictures gives children more control over the integration of their play. It also helps them to make full use of the classroom resources in solving their own problems. The key point is to test the effect of the arrangement on children – neither on what adults might do in it nor on adult values and aesthetics.

The material one provides also influence children's full use of their developing mental abilities. Choose materials which lend themselves to a variety of purposes (e.g. sturdy blocks; construction materials like clay, lego blocks, pipe cleaners, etc.; old cans and plastic containers, and so forth) and introduce novel materials to stimulate discussion and exploration. Even stories can be selected for how well they elicit ideas from children. A story like *Good luck, bad luck*, for example, can generate excited discussions of what kind of rescue or what mishap is coming up next.

Routines can also provide ways to involve children in planning and problem solving. Regularity is crucial if children are going to be able to get a feel for how much time they have to work with. A variety of signs (pictures, musical sounds, etc.) can be used to help children know what is coming next.

Finally, to foster children's comprehension of representational media, teachers should take care to illustrate an object or experience shared by the members of the class in a variety of media. Circle time activities can use 3-dimensional models, pictures, photographs, music, and pantomine to communicate stories or express feelings. Children can be helped to use a variety of media for expressing themselves when teachers suggest telling the same story in another way, for example, and when they provide a variety of materials to be used for this purpose.

(6) *Use distancing behaviours in ....*

Children's problem-solving capacities need not be artificially limited to the so-called 'cognitive' areas. Representational thinking is needed in understanding why certain rules have been set, resolving disputes with other children, estimating physical prowess, and evaluating one's own preference as well as in learning about numbers or colours. Since the underlying processes are the same, teacher strategies can be expected to be similar. Questions are used to explore with the child why he thinks it is alright to take all the crayons or how he knows he will be able to run all the way across the play yard without stopping. The physical environment, likewise, will influence the child's developing ability to think rationally about these areas.

The result of the distancing approach to the preschool classroom is a child who interacts with his environment independently, co-operatively, and thoughtfully. Not only does he tend to use whatever capacities he already has for such interaction but he is in an optimal environment for further developing and refining his abilities. It is an exciting and challenging environment for both children and teachers.

EXAMPLES OF LESSON PLANS USED IN THE PROGRAMME

Eight different lesson plans are included here to give an idea of how the general principles for teaching have been applied to specific activities during the past year. The first five plans are for large group activities times when all children gather together. These include examples from the planning time at the very beginning of the day, from the middle of the day after a 45 minutes free play period, and from the end of the day (following a second free play period).

Small group activities (2–5 children with one teacher) were done during free play periods, sometimes in a corner of the classroom and sometimes in an adjacent room. An example of a block construction activity has been included as a representative of the kind of planning done for these periods. Other formal and informal small group activities have dealt with topics such as reversible and irreversible transformations, story reading with predictions, anticipations, and speculations about the story line, guessing games, work on expressing an idea in a variety of media, observing and comparing, planning (e.g. deciding how the socio-dramatic play area can be made to represent a rocket ship) and understanding social rules and conventions.

The free play period is a crucial one for the implementation of distancing strategies. Planning has been somewhat less formal here than for group activities since the emphasis is on child initiated activities rather than on topics introduced and organised by the teachers. As the two plans illustrate, however, teachers anticipate possible directions for the free play period and generate questions that are likely to be helpful in activating representational thought.

Example 1
Large Group
Monday – Thursday, March 28–31, 1977
Activity: Circle I
Focus: Planning

This planning time remains essentially the same as described in the plan for 3/21–25. Another type of questioning may be entered into interactions with some children. That is, questions requiring the child to bring to awareness reasons behind his selection of a particular place to play, e.g. 'O.K, you've decided to make a motorboat with blocks. Well, what made you decide that you wanted to do that today? ...' (Teacher may need to help the child with some possibilities) 'Did you think about how you were going to play on the way to school?' ... Did you ever see a motor-boat? ... Have you ever ridden on one? ...' The child may give reasons based more on the immediate environment, e.g. 'I want to play with Legos 'cause Timmy is there.' Teacher may help him to explore the variations of this basis. 'What if Timmy was in blocks ... paints ... records? Where would you play then? ... What if Timmy wasn't here?'

Also, if a teacher becomes aware of a child who changes his or her mind at planning time or during the morning, she can help him to bring reasons for that change to consciousness, e.g. 'Oh, I see you've left the puzzle, and gone to the magic markets. What made you decide to do that?' She may need to stop the child and have him mentally reconstruct his play in the original area. 'Who were you working with at the puzzle? ... What was each of you doing? ... And, look here, you are at the art table now. Think, and remember what made you decide to come here.' She may, again need to offer suggestions. 'Did something happen at the puzzle that made you want to leave there? ... What? ... Did you look at the art table and see something here that you liked? ... What?'

These questioning strategies will help the child to become more aware of the reasoning processes behind his decision making. In turn, this awareness can help her to be more consciously selective when planning and more able to stand back, look at a problem, weigh possibilities and come to a reasoned decision. Through required planning, we have made children more or less look at the problem but before they can do much weighing of possibilities, they need to be made aware of the processes involved.

Example 2
Large Group
Thursday, January 20, 1977
Activity: Circle II
Focus: Decision making and idea assessing in a story line.

Objectives for Child

(1) Decide if X is a reasonable thing to take on trip.
(2) Come up with explanation for a decision.

Prerequisites for Child: None

Materials: 2 puppets

Teacher Preparation: Seat children on rug and prepare for listening.

Teacher Strategies

Teachers operate puppets who are deciding what to bring with them on a train trip. One plays 'dumb', suggesting a variety of things many of which are not practical for one reason or another. Second puppet says 'Oh boy, that's not a very good idea. V., can you tell him why? What would the problem be?' Conditions may include cold and snowy weather. The trip is 5 days long. Puppet has only one seat's small storage area on train. Suggestions given by puppet might include: his bed, ice cubes, an empty glass, bike, bathing suit, telephone, paper, record, etc.. Children will also be encouraged to think of other things they could bring to make original items workable, e.g. can of soda to go with empty glass. Puppet will ask for evaluations and reasons from individual children instead of entire group so that less outspoken ones can get a chance to think and share. Some suggestions given by puppet will be practical ones.

Rationale

(1) Puppets are a good way of holding attention of children.
(2) Children are required to make decisions on the basis of given conditions and their past experiences.

(3) Children required to bring to awareness the reasons for their decisions.

Example 3
Large Group
Monday, November 1
Activity: Circle III
Focus: Irreversible transformations: combining wet and dry (making play dough)

Objectives for Child

(1) To be aware of state of untransformed materials – to note particularly the colour and texture.
(2) To anticipate and predict result of combining wet and dry.
(3) To compare and verify predictions to actual results of actions.

Prerequisites for Child

Some experiences with mixing materials of different textures. Wetness is helpful but not necessary

Materials: (for each teacher)

6 C. flour
1 C. salad oil
Enough water to make dough soft and pliable
Large bowl
Measuring cup
Spoon
Orange food colouring

Teaching Preparation

Children are split into 2 groups – one going to block area. This is to make it easier for all kids to touch ingredients, participate in predicting transformations and verify the result of mixing wet and dry.

Teacher Strategies

(1) Ask about properties of unmixed ingredients – have children first describe, then feel, smell, etc..
(2) Ask about children's other experiences that might help them anticipate what the results of combining ingredients might be – e.g. ask about experiences helping someone to bake or mixing with water and sand or dirt.
(3) Ask children to describe the changes they saw in previous experiences – odour, texture, what could be done with combined vs. separate ingredients.

(4) Ask for predictions about the ingredients at hand – get kids to be specific about *what* will happen and *why*, i.e. why they think it will happen. (If reason given is that it worked that way before, ask if that is always the way it happens.) If it comes up, teacher can also ask about adding different types of liquids to flour, adding dry ingredients to flour, or adding semi-soft media such as cottage cheese, butter or clay. Keep children's predictions in mind for later experiments with combining ingredients.

(5) Get children to describe changes as they occur. This ensures that they observe relevant aspects of the transformation.

(6) Ask children to compare product with (a) the initial ingredients and (b) the predictions they made.

(7) Ask children about what they might do with the completed product when it is available to them during free play.

Rationale

(1) This experience can be reconstructed through dramatic play in bakery area.

(2) Aspects of this experience can be used to predict transformations in bread-dough making experience next day.

(3) Children are likely to have had relevant experiences they can draw on to make plausible predictions e.g. with dough or like materials such as dirt and water, shampoo and water, and chocolate and milk. This makes it easier for teachers to concentrate on helping children to use past experiences to solve a present problem.

(4) Since transformation occurs in a short period of time while kids are present, verification is easy and clear. Children can actively participate.

Example 4
Large Group
Wednesday, February 2, 1977
Activity: Circle II
Focus: Generation and evaluation of ideas about ways to be friends.

Objectives for Child

(1) To understand plight of child in story.
(2) To think of possible solutions to child's problems.
(3) To evaluate generated and given ideas in terms of their own feelings.

Prerequisites for Child

Some experience in a group of children.

Materials

Teacher-made easel story about a child who is trying to make friends with other children.

Teacher Prepatation

Seat children on rug and prepare for listening.

Teacher Strategies

Story tells of a child thinking about how she wants to be friends and/or play with other children and her attempts to do those things. She first tries to gain friends by pushing, grabbing or hitting. Real children anticipate results of these actions and why those results are likely. They are encouraged to put themselves in the position of the child in story. How would they feel as the first child and as others. Some negative results of aggressive actions are shown in story and children suggest alternative actions, again thinking of what they might do if they were the first child, and likely results in relation to other children. Wording such as 'If you were in *this* class and you *really* wanted to play with someone, and she was playing with the clay, how could you get to play with her? ... Would you grab the clay? ... What do you think would happen? ... Would you hit her? ... What if someone hit you like this child did? ... Would you feel like being that person's friend then?' is used.

Story goes on to show some strategies used by the first child that were not aggressive and might be successful, e.g. asking, or watching and giving an idea.

Story will emphasise the actions as attempts to get attention and be friends – not as 'hitting' which is often associated with being negative.

Rationale

(1) Some children seem to need help in thinking of ways to begin to play with others.
(2) Anticipating results of actions in terms of your own feelings.
(3) Generating ideas about successful ways to play and be friends.

Example 5
Large Group
Anyday, February 8 through February 17, 1977
Activity: Circle III
Focus: Conservation of meaning. Responding to directions given first verbally than in sign language.

Objectives for Child

(1) To understand and comply with both sets of directions.
(2) To be aware of what is the same about both sets, i.e. the meaning.

Prerequisites for Child

Presence at some experiences, involving sign language as Circle II, Feb. 7, 1977.

Materials

Tape recorders.
Tape containing various directions for children to follow.

Teacher Preparation

Pre-record directions.
Learn signs for concepts on tape recorder.

Teacher Strategies

Children are allowed to listen to and act with directions on tape. They will be simple motoric ones such as 'sit with your legs crossed ... stretch out your legs ... cross your ankles ... stand up ... stand on one foot ... while I count to 5, hop ...' etc.. They must be directions which the teacher can duplicate with sign language. When tape of about 3 or 4 minutes is complete, children are told to watch and see if they can know how to do these things without hearing the words. The are asked to recall the story *The Good Birth* and how we told that story without words. Teacher may tell children the meaning of some of the signs and have them come to the meaning of others. She may ask why they think certain meanings apply to certain signs.

Rationale

Children work with 3 modes of representation – almost at the same time (verbal, sign and motoric).

Example 6
Small Group
Week of January 24, 1977
Activity: Block construction. Based on the book *Changes, Changes.*
Focus: Reconstruction of structures in book with available materials.

Objectives for Child

(1) To decide with the group which structure they would like to build.
(2) To select and position blocks needed to do that.
(3) To think of any changes needed on basis of materials or desired and carry them out.
(4) To be aware of some similarities and differences in book and real structure.

Prerequisites for Child

(1) Some experiences with unit and large blocks.
(2) Some familiarity with *Changes, Changes.*

Materials

Blocks, small and large
Book, *Changes, Changes*
Any others that children decide they need while building.

Teacher Preparation

Share the book with entire class before having any small groups. Make sure that all children are aware of supply of small blocks that are inside the cabinets.

Select 2 to 4 children for a group (number depending on which children and wishes of individuals).

Teacher Strategies

Teacher tells children that we are all going to pretend to be the people in *Changes, Changes.* 'Which one of these things are we going to make? ... The fire engine? ... Oh, Oh, who remembers why they had to build a fire engine?' Teacher may help all children agree on which thing to build now. They find picture of that structure in the book and talk about all the parts it has. Depending on kids in group, they may want to plan which of our blocks will correspond to ones in picture and/or decide which children will build which parts. As everyone is building, teacher may ask questions about parts of building; what they are for and how children can represent them. Probing individual parts of representation may be deeper here as it can require thinking that is directly related to what the child is doing. Teacher may help the child to anticipate – 'Well, if you put those three skinny ones here, how will you put on this roof? ... What if it is too heavy? ... Can you think of a way to use this and make it work?'

Rationale

(1) Reconstruction from graphic to 3-dimensional mode of representation.
(2) Problem solving around somewhat different materials and unrealistic situations represented in book.
(3) Divergent thinking in adding any changes that children think appropriate.

Example 7
Free Play
April 13 – 22, 1977
Activity: Block and socio-dramatic areas.
Focus: (1) Construction: Representation of objects using blocks and other materials.
(2) Socio-dramatic: Representation and extension of experiences and ideas through pretending.

Objectives for Child

(1) To decide which item(s) will be represented.
(2) To think about parts of item and plan how they will be represented.
(3) To solve problems presented by teachers or other children concerning construction.
(4) To represent situations, stories, etc. through blocks, other materials and pretending.

Prerequisites for Child

To have explored physical properties and attributes of blocks and other S.D. materials.

Materials

Large and small unit blocks.
Long boards.
Several cardboard boxes.
Machine parts.
Large cloth.
Other classroom materials as children see fit.

Teacher Preparation

Generally this just involves having materials available to children. Some days it may extend to creating things that suggest ideas to children. For example: A large 'M' after a trip to McDonald's, a certain way of using blocks and boards to create a roof.

Teacher Strategies

Depending on the child, his level of development and interest, strategies may include helping the child decide what he/she is going to build, the parts of that item, and/or how they can be represented. Or, asking children about construction after it is build, possible presenting problems, e.g. 'What happens in your house when it rains? ... Is there anything you can do about it?' Strategies also may include helping children to plan dramatic play – characters needed, their role, how they work together, etc. and/or extending play after children have begun it. Entering play actively, helping it along and withdrawing whenever possible, allowing children to continue alone. Questions may be used in posing problems to children or teacher may just add a new element or situation herself.

Rationale

(1) Children in class vary as to abilities in construction and dramatic play. Teacher must be flexible and able to change strategies according to individual.
(2) Blocks are an effective, enjoyable mode of representation.
(3) Dramatic play often flows easily out of block play. These areas are combined as strategies can vary depending on children.

Example 8
Free Play
April 13 –22, 1977
Activity: Easel
Focus: Exploration and reconstruction with a new media – water colour paints.

Objectives for Child

(a) To explore the effects of using these new paints at the easel.
(b) To represent objects with paints.

Prerequisites for Child

Experience with easel and poster paints.
Introduced at Circle III of 4/12/77.

Materials

2 boxes of water colour paints
2 paint brushes
2 small containers of water
Large construction paper

Teacher Preparation

Introduce new materials at 3rd circle of previous day.
Have materials out at easel.

Teacher Strategies

While children are exploring new materials, teacher may ask questions about attributes of these paints such as colour or texture, how these paints differ from old poster paints in attributes, results when used, results of combining colours or of using varying amounts of water. If children appear to be interested in reconstructing a certain item, teacher may ask questions about that item – where the child has seen it, the parts of it, shapes, sizes, colours of parts, etc..

Rationale

- (a) Children have been working with poster paints at easel all year. Water colours provide a different media with a wider variety of colours and a new texture.
- (b) Because of the thinness and colour range, water colours may be an easy media for representation.

PLACE OF THEORY IN EARLY EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

Preschool programmes working from fundamentally an enrichment perspective and with the purpose of fostering cognitive development have evolved a number of programmes with particular foci (Evans, 1971). Each of the programmes, while basically trying to achieve the fundamental objective of ameliorating the intellectual consequences of poverty, employed different strategies to accomplish the same goals. Programme builders varied in the thoroughness with which they conceptualised the *how* and the *why* of educational intervention. Not only were there limitations in this regard but also in the evaluation.

If intervention is a process which is presumed to influence the course of development, the intervention is a process not unique to or applicable only for underprivileged children. All educational efforts can be construed as *interventions* since every programme does attempt to modify the course of cognitive, and/or social and/or emotional development.

Of course the argument that *all* education is interventionist argues that the course of development is *not* fixed but modifiable. For some, this proposition is open to question. My contention is that the rate and quality of intellectual growth is influenced by the quality of social and emotional experiences.

Alhtough there is evidence that those early programmes were effective in varying degrees, we are not clear as to why. My interpretation of this state of affairs is that the reason for such limited understanding of the 'why' or the outcomes is because of three fundamental reasons:

1. the educational model was incomplete;
2. the monitoring of the application of the model was usually not systematic; and
3. assessment procedures were usually minimally correlated or totally uncorrelated to programme goals and procedures.

In this paper, each of the issues is discussed briefly and a model is then provided as an exemplar of preschool programme which does follow these guidelines.

TYPES OF DECISIONS REQUIRED FOR ESTABLISHING A CONCEPTUAL MODEL

At this stage of our educational science, a number of educational models are available. The question is how should the model of choice be selected. There are five types of decisions that have to be made in creating or selecting a conceptual model for preschool programming.

These are decisions of *what, when, how, who* and *where*. The issues are well identified by Evans who says:

> ... issue of *what* concerns the content of a program .... This range involves several dimensions including type of content and degree to which content is structured by adults for children's learning encounters. The *when* issue in early childhood education concerns timing or the sequential management of experiences appropriate to the developmental process. This issue cannot be separated from the problem of content, for it involves a determination of what experiences are most appropriate at what points in time. Both issues raise the broad philosophical question of long-range goals for early education .... Other problems related to timing concern the stability of early learning and the possible hazards of beginning too early or too late and the extent to which behaviour can be boosted by early intervention programs .... Fused to the issues of content and timing is the issue of *how*. This involves a set of questions concerning methodology valid for early childhood education whatever the purposes of such education might be. Teaching methods suitable at one stage of development may not be suitable at earlier or later stages. Methods which contribute to early mastery may not be suitable at earlier or later stages. Methods which contribute to early mastery may not be appropriate for long-term objectives .... The variety of methods applied to early childhood education is remarkable. To the above triad may be added the fourth issue, one that concerns *who will prosecute* programmes of early childhood education (Evans, 1971, p. 20).

The fifth issue, *where*, also needs resolution since a number of alternatives exist – a home-based programme, a school-based programme and so on.

Evans cogently forces the issue, namely, the definition of the conceptual or theoretical base for the programme:

> Decisions related to these problems [*what*, *when*, *how*, *who* and *where*] inevitably reflect variations in philosophy and psychological conceptions of child development in learning, availability of personnel, and the formulation of day to day practices. But perhaps the most overriding question relevant to the five issues above is the

> *why* question. For example, as a given programme is reviewed, one may ask why this content as opposed to something else? Why is a set of experiences provided at a given point in time? Why is this method of execution particularly preferred over other possible methods or techniques? Why are certain skills established as more imperative than others? (Evans, 1971, p. 21).

FUNCTION OF ARTICULATED CONCEPTUAL SYSTEMS

Evan's six questions of *what, when, how, who, where,* and *why* provide the guides for programme analysis; they require definition of assumptions, content areas, methodologies, and evaluation procedures. Analysis guided by these questions can reveal that the conceptualisations pervade every phase of the programme from teaching strategies to the nature of the subject population. In this way, the determination of the degree to which the programme components interlock becomes possible.

An explicit framework also facilitates evaluation of the programme. By clear identification of the *why*, the *what*, the *when*, and the *how*, logical or empirical analysis of the programme becomes possible. Measurement of programme components requires a priori definition of the variable to be assessed. In this way, assessment of outcomes becomes logically and psychologically related to inputs.

In sum, the greater the degree of explicitness, the greater the opportunity for programme coherence. The more adequate the identification of the dimensions involved, the greater the degree of coherence between inputs and outputs. On the other hand, when conceptualisation is not explicated or is vague or haphazard, it is likely that the programme will express disorganisation and thereby preclude the identification of coherent and relevant dimensions. The clarity of a conceptual framework is hypothesised as resulting not only in a more consistent programme but also as providing criteria against which to assess the novel and unexpected.

Advocating an explicit framework at this time does not define the programme. The time is not yet here for dogmatic adherence to particular programmes. Now is the time for evaluation studies which provide empirical bases for developing appropriate matches between theory and practice.

These studies, however, will not solve the fundamental question of *why* a particular programme. Such a decision borders on a *value* question which will have to be determined on the basis of programme objectives. If the goal is to prepare children for public school, then one type of programme may be called for; if the prime objective is to facilitate socialisation, then another type of programme may be advocated.

Does this imply that no single programme will emerge? The answer to this question is 'yes' since outcomes of programmes are predicted on the principle that societal values will determine programme choices. In a pluralistic society theoretically, at least, placing high premium on individual differences, programmatic variation is to be expected. This assertion is based on the fact that the human organism is plastic and adaptable rather than preformed and fixed. Preschool experiences may shape development in ways compatible with cultural values. This assumption is expressed in programmes for preschool education found in the USSR (Chauncey, 1969). Research contributes by demonstrating effectiveness of programmes in reaching desired outcomes. Value objectives should be distinguished from research goals. This paper is concerned with the research requirements.

If developmental theory should guide programmatic decision-making, what theory should serve as the prototype? Can the selection of a theory be made independently of the value question?

These two questions are intimately interwoven. Advocates of particular perspectives argue cogently for their viewpoint but rarely express the value base for their choice. Kohlberg (1968), for example, in an excellent exposition of a Piagetian-based cognitive developmental theory, compares his theoretical orientation to the maturationist or learning theories by demonstrating implications of each. He clearly reveals why he selects Piaget on logical grounds but does not explicitly state his value bias. Staats (1968) formulates a concept of hierarchal learning using an S-R theory. Kohlberg and Staats do not explicate their belief system which forms the basis of their theoretical persuasion. Rather, they present a logical rationale for their choice, selecting evidence which supports their position. Of course, this is probably true of all theorists. Skinnerians reject and may not even read research in a Piagetian framework and vice versa. Reese and Overton (1970) state the case clearly when they say: Theories build upon different world views are logically independent and cannot be assimilated to each other. They reflect different ways of looking at the world, and as such are incompatible in their implications (Reese and Overton, 1970, p. 116).

Further, they show that:

> The crucial difference (between behaviourists and Piagetians, for example) is so fundamental and broad in its implications that syncretism is impossible and the only rapproachment possible is like the parallel play of preschoolers in that the protagonists are separate, but mutually tolerant ... the frequently discussed search for a "common language" in psychology can reasonably occur only within models. Across models there can never be a common language because the very nature of the different models dictates different language (Reese and Overton, 1970, p. 116).

Selection of models for preschool follows the same dictates as for general theory building. The choice depends on the world view of the programme builder. Once the decision is made the *what, when*, and the *how* can be determined.

CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING DEVELOPMENT

The first consideration is based on the proposition that the human organism is made up of a variety of subsystems: the perceptual system, the cognitive system, the sensorimotor system, the language system, etc., each of which has a relationship one to the other. Many programmes point with particular emphasis to some of these systems with minimal consideration, either theoretically or practically for other components. For example, there are programmes which stress the language system. There are others which stress the perceptual system. There are others which combine the cognitive and language systems. The question is what is the relationship between these various systems? All programmes are complex entities so that even emphasis on a particular system is not total. Consequently, teachers, programmers, and evaluators must be sensitised to the developmental issue of programmatic factors which influence the effects of the particular system selected as the target. Conceivably, facilitative or inhibitory effects may occur.

Related to the above question is the consideration of the relationship between systems longitudinally. We are not certain what the relationship is between systems, particularly in programmes which attempt to accelerate particular systems, especially in long-range terms. There are certain general considerations which are accepted. For example, while there is an increase in the capability of the organism to function on conceptual levels, he still responds in a more habituated manner to certain areas of life which elicit sensory motor responses. That is to say, the differences in acquisition of certain skills and competencies and the relations of these acquisitions to other aspects of the organism may vary over time. Thus, one cannot presume that such intersystemic relationships will be comparable from one period of life to another. If one views development as a system of hierarchically integrated structures which incorporate previous experiences, then one has to conceptualise and examine how the organism co-ordinates these various cognitive or affective structures from one point in time to another. The assumption that comparable interaction between systems will occur at each developmental level is not warranted. Thus, it may be, for example, that language training at a certain point in time may facilitate the development of thought. It may well be that language acquisition at another point in time no longer serves this function but serves other functions, e.g. the social relationship. Thus language acquisition is functionally different in the organism's life space at different time periods. If this perspective is part of the programme builder's conceptual orientation, then he may be in a position to examine the question empirically and there is a need for such data. Thus, we ask what is the relationship between systems and within systems, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally. The question of systemic relationships in the temporal context brings up the next point, namely, the timing of intervention.

Increased argument is expressed for the proposition that the earlier the intervention the better, as if to say, if you get the rocket on course at the beginning of the flight, the trajectory will remain as expected for the long haul. Aside from the fact that we know there is constant monitoring of that trajectory in rocketry and constant adjustments made, educators somehow do not necessarily accept this analogue. Rather, the assumption is that early experience will or can have long-term effects even if the total environment is not changed. There is little evidence to support the notion that the earlier you start the better. This belief implies a certain commitment to primacy and the establishment of appropriate orientations, skills and structuress which will result in appropriate resolution of subsequent problems. The question still is the *when* of intervention. The issue is theoretical. The *when* of intervention requires identification of the significant epochs wherein particular interventions would have more relevance in getting the child on the appropriate 'course' of growth. It is unlikely that one would proceed to teach an infant to be a track star. This, of course, has a ludicrousness about it which we can all understand for we seem to have some feel for the requirements of being a track star, and we also have some understanding of the infant's capabilities. However, the issue is one of the principle that we tend to pay too little attention to, namely, when certain interventions should be undertaken and what their content should be. In other words, the timing of input for compensatory activities, irrespective of the developmental model, has to be carefully monitored in terms of its appropriateness. In essence, the fundamental problem is the determination of when intervention occurs and what this does to the vertical and horizontal intersystemic relationship.

Assimilation/Accommodation

A related issue concerns the degree to which the children can assimilate and accommodate to the programme. This capability is not only a function of the developmental level of the child but also of the type of experiences involved. The variety, the intensity and the extensity of the stimulation are part and parcel of the basic issue before us. Much work has to be done on the information processing capability of the developing child in relation to his developmental level. For efficient and effective programming, this issue has to be met head on. Careful assessment of the relationship between input and output becomes germane.

Let us turn to some developmental issues relevant to outcomes. There seems to be a general belief that development is overall a cumulative process in which experiences in T1 influence outcomes at T2. The cumulative impact, however, may express itself in various effects at different times. There may be developmental periods which are consolidations of previous experiences and which at that time may be independent one of the other. Certain cognitive skills may be independent of each other in early childhood but not later. It is conceivable that the combination of T1 experiences will influence behaviour at T5. For example, one can conceive of such variables as perceptual motor skills which, when combined with symbolic activity, enables the child to read. With either of these not present, he could not learn to read. Thus the cumulative effect and the co-ordination of these two domains enables a third skill to develop. This speaks to the fact that development, although cumulative and continuous, does not only influence particular outcomes in the immediate but also in the long term since additional knowledge is acquired.

Another way of examining this issue of cumulative impact and antecedent-consequent relationships is the concept of stage setting properties of experiences. This is best exemplified by some physical growth phenomena which set the stage for certain outcomes, thereby participating in a means-end relationship. Walking, for example, is an outcome which occurs when the child has reached certain physical and motoric capabilities wherein he can balance himself and control certain body movements. As a consequence of this achievement, the child's perspective of the world alters and he has a new set of competencies to co-ordinate. In the course of this, he also begins to have a vertical orientation towards the world. Walking does not cause a vertical orientation but walking enables a child to alter his perspective of the world. Furthermore, it sets the stage for a host of other behaviours which become derivative of such a vertical view of the environment. To be more explicit, vertical views of the world have some impact in body orientation in space. Again this is not caused by walking. Rather, walking enables the outcome to occur. The stage setting concept speaks to the fact that certain phenomena occur which set the stage in a preparatory sense, thereby enabling the organism to accomplish other types of tasks.

Yet another theoretical question of interest is the degree to which certain competencies or structures are susceptible to modificaton; that is, they may be reversible or irreversible, extended or not extended. In a sense, this is the old question that was discussed under the guise of maturation and learning. Are there some organismic characteristics which once acquired cannot be altered? Once the child has learned to speak in the normal course of events, is this a reversible or irreversible process, and if so, under what conditions? On the other hand, certain perceptual phenomena such as the perception of illusions may not be modifiable. For those who espouse a Piagetian type position, modifiability can only occur when the individual has the necessary cognitive structures. It is not the situation where you can teach anything to anybody at anytime, even if you do it properly. To do it properly would mean not to teach it at that point in time because the organism is, in effect, not ready. Once these things are acquired, however, can they be modified either by eliminating them or accelerating them? If they can be modified, can they be modified in an accelerative fashion by enhancing and increasing complexity or could they be modified at the same level but merely broadened; or are some processes irreversible and once acquired cannot be undone?

Child and the Environment

Another perspective is also relevant, namely, the relationship between the child and the broader environmental context. If intervention refers to alteration of the expected course of growth, other things being equal, then intervention programmes are potential sources of considerable disequilibrium. The child begins to live in two cultures: the culture of the intervention programme environment and the culture of the home. This is not the cliche issue of conflict of home and school so commonly discussed among middle-class educators. Rather, it refers to the funadmental lifestyle changes for the child and for the parent. Generally, the intervention proceeds not only to alter the anticipated course of the child's development but also the ongoing patterns of parental behaviours, attitudes and fellings. Imbalance is created by changing both participants, with the change of the parent towards greater orientation towards the child and vice versa. The parent is now regarded as a critical instrument in the child's growth. In fact, it is this relationship that defines the parent's place in the intervention programme. The child now becomes the centre of attention and the parent's behaviours are in need of change to support and maintain and perhaps instigate modifications in the child. Restructuring of the equilibrium in the family introduces the set of change variables that need careful definition and assessment. The assertions above are based on the view of the family as a social system which, by virtue of its sociocultural bias, has developed a set of bondings that keep it in a state of dynamic equilibrium. It should be kept in mind that in spite of assertions of disorganisation and disarray of the so-called economically disadvantaged families, this view, even if true, does not deny that some type of balance exists which contributes to some of the solidity of its organisation strength despite the stress and strain.

Behaviour Patterns Change

Early education fosters alteration of behaviour patterns with the potential of modifying the child's views, expectations, and behaviours and response to significant others in his life. Consideration of this change necessitates consideration of concomittant response in the parent. The critical features here are in the timing of the change in each and their complimentary nature. If the child is becoming increasingly verbal, for example, and the parent has not proceeded to cope appropriately with this, a state of disequilibrium is created. The child's behaviour is, in effect, altered prior to the acquisition of appropriate response techniques on the part of the parent. For these conditions, it is conceivable that learnings acquired in the nursery may be inhibited and extinguished. Thus, the timing of the modification of members in this system must be carefully considered in terms of their interdependence.

This familial issue, while in part a value and ethical question, speaks to a crucial conceptual problem. How to conceptualise the interaction and how to deal with it methodologically is still to be resolved. It may well be that the significant factors obfuscating results and behavioural and social change in the preschool may be due to the divergence between home and school, not in basic values so much as in the degree to which the two sets of behaviours are interacting in a way which preclude the creation and maintenance of change.

Implicit then in the above discussion is the need to conceptualise the family as one dynamic system interacting with the nursery school which is the second dynamic system. The degrees to which these two overlap or separate become, in my estimation, a significant factor in facilitating or inhibiting growth. The issue becomes particularly cogent with children coming from certain minority groups where family organisation may be highly variable and the particular kinds of organisation may have short-lived tenure. The stability or instability of the systemic arrangements in the family have conceivably important effects on the child and this may be much more significant than certain elements of the educational programme itself.

These assertions also accentuate the concern we must have for the social significance of intervention where the activities as defined by the programme may have certain positive effects on the child in the school setting but may have disastrous effects in the home situation. The degree to which the parents evolve coping mechanisms or modifications of their own behaviour to sustain and support these presumed new found gains in the children raises a question of considerably ethical, practical and theoretical interest.

One may extend this latter argument of systemic relationships to the broader environment but it seems to me the principle is clear: the child as a member of the nursery school group has an overlapping membership in other groups and the degree to which we can identify these overlapping memberships and the function they have for the child's development may well be a significant determinant of the kind and quality of success the child has.

There is no doubt that in early education, we are dealing with a host of complexities that our science has not been prepared to deal with. The challenge for developmental psychologists is clear. The need is to identify variables functioning in particular settings, create adequate measuring instruments (which have not even been alluded to), and monitor the relevant environment which can and no doubt does influence the very nature of the *what* the intervention programme does. If the child is on course as far as the nursery school is concerned, chances are he needs other sustaining forces to keep him moving in the appropriate direction. When these consistent forces are not present, it is no surprise that the child may abandon his new found learnings and revert back to what was a more appropriate and comfortable earlier stage.

For me, it is very important to conceptualise not only the growth of the child but also the system within which he is functioning e.g. to be aware of and to identify the ecological systemic variables ranging from school room equipment and placement of equipment to the child's relationship to his own mother. Granted that although we cannot be as precise as workers involved in verbal learning studies appear to be, we must be increasingly precise; we must take the time to identify or at least to define the significant variables which we are looking at and examine these in terms of logical and necessary outcomes. In this way, we create the situation where the criterion outcomes, such as school success, are defined with such explicitness that the appropriate intervention programme determines the necessary and sufficient precursors for predefined outcomes.

THE MONITORING OF PROGRAMMES

The research designs in most educational programmes are pre-post models. Typically, children are assessed at the beginning and at the end. The teachers were trained to carry out the model. Usually inservice training continues with varying degree of thoroughness and/or regularity. The assumption is that the teachers are in fact carrying out programme objectives.

Two issues immediately arise in this area. (1) Are the teaching strategies, organisation of the classroom and preparation of materials articulated with the conceptualisation of the programme; and (2) Is there consistent monitoring of the environment to ascertain the coherence between theory and practice?

Why is there such a stress on minitoring the daily activities of the programme? Such minitoring is necessary where it is important to know if the programme is in fact being practised. Secondly, if interest is in explication of change, it is necessary to define those educational experiences they may be responsible for such change. Monitoring requires consistent observation of teacher behaviour, to be certain teaching strategies are coherent with the model–in effect the *how* of the programme. Further preparation and use of materials as well as organisation of the classroom complete the area that must be consistently surveilled. In this way, one facet of the *how* of the programme is determined.

Since in these programmes, programme evaluation is an objective, regular surveying enables the programme builder along with the teachers to institute corrective procedures, thus keeping the programme on track. Granted that this is an expensive and time consuming process, it is necessary for research. Some system should also be employed in non-research situations if coherence is a desired objective. In effect, monitoring here is comparable to quality control in manufacturing situations.

APPROPRIATENESS OF EVALUATION TO PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT

Many preschool intervention programme employed IQ tests, especially the Stanford-Binet, Form L-M, as the criterion measure of programme effectiveness. The hypothesis being tested was that an increase in IQ should occur as a result of the educational experience. It is perhaps more likely that the implicit reason for employing IQ measures was the belief that IQ scores of impoverished children are low because of environmental limitations. Providing an enriched environment such as preschool should lead to an approximation of the children's true intellectual level. If that logic prevails, should not such measures be used as the criterion for assessment of success at every grade level? After all, the children are being provided with enrichment and this enrichment should enhance performance. IQ scores, in fact, are probably used for reasons of tradition; they represent old tried-and-true measures especially as predictors of school success.

In spite of the seemingly rational basis for using IQ scores, my belief is that they are inadequate, in fact, irrelevant. The strategy employed in evaluating preschool programmes must be examined in the larger context of educational evaluation in general. For me, the only rational assessment of preschool programmes would involve procedures that are related to programme experience. The logic is the same as that employed in the evaluation of other educational programmes where the criterion measures are related to programme inputs. My hunch is that the reason that this is not done in early childhood education is that there is no agreement as to the content of the preschool programme. Thus, there are no achievement-type tests for preschool children comparable to those in upper grades. Lest it might be thought that an attack is made on a straw man, an examination of preschool assessment programmes is deemed to be an urgent necessity. From the perspective of the discussion here, there is no reason at all to employ IQ scores as criterion measures on the outcomes of educational programmes, except possibly to determine whether or not the individual child's lack of gain in a programme might be a function of his intellectual status.

Rejecting the IQ test as a criterion assessment test brings us directly to the issue of what are valid measures for assessing preschool children's education gains. Valid assessment of preschool programmes must employ assessment measures of variables directly related to the programme. Selecting tests which are not clear outgrowths of the programme may well miss the mark. This is not to be interpreted as creating tests which are direct and explicit outgrowths of the programme, allowing of the criticisms that the programme teaches to the test. Rather, the principle is that the test as dependent measures should indicate whether change has in fact occurred in those areas which were educational targets. The principle is the one guiding achievement test construction. Tests, irrespective of their format, should demonstrate the degree to which the child has internalised the educational experience and is capable of applying it to a novel situation or set of problems.

Time does not permit discussion of additional assessment problems for preschool but reference is made to Weinberg and Moore (1975). The general issues focussed on this point have dealt with the need for conceptualisation, monitoring of programmes and deriving evaluation of variables for programme goals.

Now attention is turned to a discussion of our preschool programme at the Child Care Research Centre at Educational Testing Service which was guided in its design and organisation by the three issues described above.

RESEARCH FOR PROGRAMME AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In a series of studies beginning in 1965, we discovered that a large proportion of black children from impoverished backgrounds were less competent than their more privileged counterparts when dealing with representational material (Sigel, 1972a; Sigel, Anderson and Shapiro, 1966; Sigel and McBane, 1967; Sigel and Olmsted, 1970). These studies revealed that children from impoverished backgrounds had greater difficulty in classification tasks when the task items were coloured or black-and-white photographs in contrast to three-dimensional objects. Such discrepancies were found in spite of the fact that the children could label and recognise the pictorial stimuli. The issue becomes, then, not one of recognition but of *knowledge* that an object can be represented in several modes and still be a member of the same conceptual class. It is easy to confuse recognitory behaviour as equivalent to 'knowing' or comprehension of equivalence. Not only did these children have difficulty in responding equivalently to pictorial stimuli and their three-dimensional counterparts but they also had difficulty with other tasks involving representational skills e.g. motor encoding from the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistics and Dramatic Play (Sigel and Perry, 1968).

A review of the literature does not reveal many data specific to this issue but some can be reinterpreted to provide further evidence concerning the problem. For example, Kamii and Radin (1967) examined the types of Stanford-Binet items which children in the Perry Preschool Project considered difficult and found them to be conceptual items, as compared to the more rote perceptually concrete types. It may be that the reason IQ scores, so often used as an evaluation measure for intervention programmes, show a later decline is because the test items involve more conceptual-verbal items than rote-concrete ones. These data suggest then that the generic problem is development of representational competence, i.e. the ability to deal with representational material. This is a capacity basic to any symbolic activity and considered by Piaget (1962) to be intimately related to thought.

Examination of life experiences of children from impoverished and deprived environments suggests that these life experiences reduce the opportunity for representational competence to flourish. For example, Hunt writes that 'children of poverty lack opportunities to develop cognitive skills' (Hunt 1969, p. 204). In referring to parent-children interactions he says:

> What these parents talk about is also lacking in such conceptual constructions as prepositional relationships, casual explanations, and concepts of space, time, and justice .... The parents of the slums not only talk less with their children than do parents of the middle class, but they seldom undertake to discuss with their children matters which prompt them to discern various kinds of relationships among things and people or to use language to describe these relationships (Hunt 1969, p. 205–6).

't is reasonable to assume that these kinds of experiences may be critical antecedents for the development of representational competence.

If the capacity to represent the environment or to symbolise is a generic human ability and if competence can be affected by certain kinds of life experiences, then a careful examination of experiences that facilitate or preclude representational competence seems in order.

We hypothesise that the most relevant experiences are those that would involve orientation to the environment by anticipation or objectification of temporal, spatial and causal relationships. It seems to us that certain classes of socialising experiences function to 'demand' employment of representational acitivity. It may well be that the necessary and/or sufficient conditions that set the process of representation in motion are those that serve to create psychological, spatial or temporal distance between person and object. These behaviours (social and/or non-social), referred to as *distancing behaviours* are the class of events that create psychological distance between ostensive reality and its reconstruction (Sigel, 1970). Thus, the basic hypothesis emerged, namely, exposing children to distancing behaviours should enhance the development of representational skills.

Distancing behaviours, however, will be effective stimulants only if the recipient is motivated to engage and to interact with the significant person or event. Exposure without the prerequisite willingness to participate precludes any effect. To create such a climate necessitates an environment in which significant adults are warm, accepting and sensitive to the child's status. Adults should be able to listen, appreciate the child's perspective and be 'tuned' into his comprehension level. Thus, the adult must be able to assess the child's developmental level and respond appropriately.

History of 'Distancing' Programme

The programme was initially employed with two-year-old children from impoverished backgrounds. The results of the project were encouraging, both in the short term and in the long term (Cataldo, 1977; Sigel, Secrist and Forman, 1973). In 1973, the programme was moved to ETS where it was applied to a middle-income group of children. The aim is to determine whether the conceptual model is appropriate for another group of four-year-olds.

Monitoring of the Current Programme

The key to the programme is currently identified in the degree to which the teachers employ distancing strategies. Since the differences between these experimental programmes are defined in the context of teaching strategies, it is necessary to accomplish two objectives at one and the same time: (1) to be certain that the teachers instructed in using distancing strategies in effect do so; and (2) to determine if there is a difference in frequency of such behaviours in a non-experimental set-up.

To accomplish this objective, we developed an observation schedule which was derived from the conceptual framework. It includes categories of distancing behaviours, those strategies teachers use to structure tests and finally child management.

Teachers were observed at the beginning, middle and end of the year for a total of 1½ minutes each time block. Teachers wore wireless microphones and did not know what time of day they were being recorded by videotape. The videotapes were coded.

These tapes were also shown to the teachers so that they could determine how they were doing and what correctives were needed. The teachers in the distancing programme were the only teachers to observe these tapes.

Comparing teachers in the distancing programme and the other non-distancing one, we found significant differences in frequency of distancing behaviours on the experimental group, as expected. Thus, we feel certain that the teachers are in fact carrying out the teaching strategies that are the keystone to the programme.

PERSPECTIVE ON EVALUATION MEASURES

The rationale undergirding our evaluation procedures is that they should be programme relevant. Thus the prepost battery assesses representational competencies which derive precisely from the objectives of the educational programme. Since representational thinking refers to the ability to create internal representation (images) that transcend the immediate, reconstruct the past or anticipate outcomes, reorganise events in any time domain and

Table 1

Distancing Strategies*

To observe**	Asking the child to examine to observe e.g. 'Look at what I am doing'.
To label	Naming of a singular object or event, e.g. naming a place, person, alternate. No elaboration. 'What color is the block?' 'Where is Joel?'
To describe	Provide elaborated information of a single instance. Descriptions are static; provide no dynamic relationships among elements, no use and functional characteristics (e.g. 'What did the car look like?')
To sequence	Temporal ordering of events, as in a story or carrying out a task. Steps articulated, last, next, afterwards, start, begin are possible key words. 'First we will look at the pictures, then we will make up a story' – teacher telling 'Your turn is after Paul's.' 'Are you next?' (sometimes confused with structuring as in 'Paul, it's your turn.')
To reproduce	Reconstruct previous experiences, dynamic interaction of events, interdependence, functions. 'How do you do that?'
To compare	Noting (describing or inferring) characteristics or properties.
(a) describe similarities	Noting extensive common characteristics (perceptual analysis) 'Are these the same?'
(b) describe differences	Noting extensive differences among instances (perceptual analysis). 'In what way are the truck and airplane different?'
(c) infer similarities	Noting non-observational commonalities (conceptual).
(d) infer differences	Noting non-observable differences (conceptual).
To propose alternatives	Offering different options, different ways of performing a task.
To combine	
(a) symmetrical classifying	Recognition of the commonalities of a class of equivalent instances. 'Why did you put those two together?'
(b) asymmetrical classifying	Organising instances in some sequential ordering – see the relationship as a continuum, seriation of any kind, comparative, where each instance is related to the previous one and the subsequent one, relative (big to small), (more or less).
(c) enumerating	Seriation: enumeration of number of things unalike; ordinal counting (1, 2, 3, 4, 5,). 'Count how many there are.' 'Is this tree bigger than that one?'
(d) synthesising	To reconstruct components into a unified whole; explicit pulling together; creating new form, sum of a number of discrete things.

* This is not an exhaustive list of strategies.

** Each strategy is a 'demand' for the child to engage in particular operations which are inherent in the structure of the statement. The 'demand' quality is implicit in the strategy. The form of the strategy may vary (see Table 2). The singular examples listed here are illustrative and not to be construed as exhaustive.

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transform ideas through various media, tests in the battery are obligated to tap these various functions. The test battery functions as achievement tests, evaluating the child's performance level at the outset of the programme and testing for change at the end of the school year. The presumption, of course, is that the educational experience accounts for the change.The experimental group should demonstrate more effective handling of the post-tests than the children in a conventional programme.

It must be kept in mind that the tasks in the test battery are unfamiliar to the teacher and the child, and are not in any way similar in content or in format to classroom instruction. We work with a transfer and generalisation model where the competencies fostered in the classroom are presumed to transfer and generalise to novel tasks in a novel setting.

The tasks are, in essence, problems derived from the programme; they therefore involve cognition of physical phenomena, cognition of social phenomena, logical reasoning, language (productive and receptive) as reflected in logical reasoning and conceptions of controlling or being controlled. Some of the tasks in each area are a follows:

Individual Tests

(A) Cognition of Physical Phenomena

Static reproductive imagery – the purpose is to observe and reproduce an arrangement of blocks.

Kinetic anticipatory imagery – to imagine where something might be.

Remembrance of causal processes – emplaining a phenomenon and remembering the procedure and the cause later.

Seriation of length – the logical problem of ordering items according to length.

Transitivity – logical understanding of relationships according to length.

Transformation of punctate (array of dots) stimuli into three-dimensional forms.

Conservation of volume and prediction of level when poured – tests of logical relationships and predicitons requiring inferential thinking.

(B) Cognition of Social Phenomena

Minischool test – assesses child's ability to reconstruct his everyday classroom environment.

Verification – assesses child's ability to verify actions or judgments when the proof is not in the immediate present.

Children's knowledge of social rules, conventions and authority.

Classification of people and conservation of social roles.

Solution of social problems.

(C) Language Assessment

Assessment of receptive language.

Assessment of productive language.

(Both deal with problems requiring logical operations.)

Reviewing these tasks and integrating them with the description of the theoretical model which undergirds the programme illustrates the relationship between programme rationale (conceptualisation), method (teaching strategies and classroom organisation) and evaluation (test battery).

The next issue is the analysis of data on such evaluation programmes. Herein lies another critical issue for determining whether the child has gained or learned from the programme.

PERSPECTIVES ON DATA ANALYSIS

The final problem facing researchers in this domain is data analysis. This is of course not the place to identify specific statistical procedures. Rather, the identification of some formal questions related to data analysis is dealt with.

Most programme effects are evaluated by comparing groups of children among different programmes or between experimental and control groups. Such analyses usually take for granted that every child in the programme has had equal exposure to the programme. Chances are that this is unlikely since amount of teacher time, for example, with individual children is highly variable. To argue that overall contact may average out may be adequate statistically but psychologically is not a reasonable perspective because *when* and *how* teachers interact as well as frequency are necessary bits of information needed to determine *whether* and *how* programme experience affects programme participants.

This concern is not raised to eschew group data programme analysis but to point out *one* major difficulty that exists in programme evaluation. This issue is more relevant for preschool and perhaps kindergarten than it might be for older children but at this point, this is raised as a general issue for all classroom research.

One solution of course is to obtain samples of teacher-child interaction and use such data to determine intensity and frequency of contact. Such data may provide relevant information which may help differentiate the children who gain from the programme (within programme analysis) as well as between programmes. This strategy may be particularly useful in those studies that find no programme differences when using group data.

A second related issue is how programme data are analysed. Obviously, just using single test scores would be limiting since they usually reflect only a partial set of outcomes, e.g. using an IQ score to attest to programme effects. Obviously, more is happening to a child in a programme than an IQ change. Currently, multivariate or regression models are used on the asumption these get at the interaction among various variables.

Yet these models are non-causative and can be atheoretical. In fact, their use does not require a causative model. One of two types of analysis is advocated: (1) a configuration model, and (2) path analysis where direction of effects is created and then tested statistically by a regression model in which predictions are stated a priori and weights generated statistically.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

We have attempted in this document to pose some of the major issues involved in evaluating early learning experiences in group settings. Although we have used preschool as the case in point and illustrated the issues with the detailing of the programme currently in operation at ETS, we contend that the principles elaborated in this presentation are applicable to any learning setting.

Our argument is that unless there is coherence between concept, method and evaluation procedures, coupled with the analysis of group and individual programme effects, we would be committing the sin of commission, namely, applying irrelevant and unrelated methods to express a programme concept and also employ evaluation measures that in fact are not evaluating the programme in question. We feel continuation of current procedures leads to confusion about the source of outcomes or lack thereof in early learning educational evaluations.

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Preschool Curriculum Development and Kindergarten Education Based on Life Situations: German, Asian and Latin American Experiences

Jürgen Zimmer

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to report the reform of preschool education in Germany. This reform began at the end of the 1960s as a curriculum reform; ten years later, it had developed to the point that all kindergardens had been reorganised.

A few pertinent scenes are presented at the beginning to provide insights into the educational practice involved. To allow these scenes to be properly understood, features of reformed kindergartens will be provided and explained later on in greater detail. The purpose of this elaboration is to clarify the fact that curriculum development can be an impetus not only for changes in educational work but also in the institutional patterns of kindergartens. This paper ends with presentation of experiences which have been gained in the application of this reform concept in developing countries.

FEATURES OF REFORMED KINDERGARTENS

In the mid-1960s, a discussion on preschool education took place with focus on two accentuations. Firstly, the theory that aptitude was based on hereditary and biological factors came under fire. Instead, emphasis was placed on the relationship between aptitude and education. The benefits of supporting an early childhood education were stressed, especially for children from socially disadvantaged sections of the population.

Secondly, the traditional concept of kindergarten was discussed. Most of them were politically active middle-class parents. The traditional concept was accused of being too authoritarian and of leaving children in an artificially sheltered sphere – of isolating them from real life situations and depriving them from meaningful educational offerings.

Following these discussions, the whole area of preschool activity – i.e. kindergarten for three to five-year olds was integrated more extensively into the educational system and was quantitatively expanded. In 1970, there were facilities to accommodate only one-third of the children in this age group in Germany but today 80% of the three of five-year olds are provided for.

In numerous experimental model programs oriented along the concept of action research, new qualities of educational endeavour developed with strong and active participation on the part of the preschool teachers. Throughout the years of this reform, contrast was made to the earlier, competitive approaches which demonstrated the following:

(1) Some parts of the curricula of primary schools were moved up earlier in the child's education.
(2) Variables of personality described by the psychology of child development, primarily in terms of the cognitive, had been formulated as goals of learning – a development which led to corresponding training of isolated factors.
(3) Guided by science-oriented propaedutical intentions, the attempt was made to impart basic concepts and methods from scientific disciplines to children of preschool age. This followed the curriculum theory of 'structures of disciplines' as developed by Jerome Bruner.

Criticism of these approaches was primarily to the effect that they were far too removed from the children's reality of life, tending towards school-like training programmes.

At the end of the 1970s, the concept that real life situations of children should be the focal point of education stimulation developed jointly by educators and scientists in the Federal Republic of Germany was generally accepted. This concept is accordingly termed 'the situation approach'. This situational approach has since become the characteristic feature of kindergartens in Germany. It still sets the standards of reform and it can be briefly defined by the following eight features:

(1) The processes of learning and experiences of children should relate to their life situations. Children of different social backgrounds and with varied histories of learning should be encouraged to handle life situations of the present and the near future in a self-determined and appropriate way.
(2) Of primary importance is social learning. Learning is related to facts and the acquisition of knowledge and skills is subordinated to social learning and is related to a social context whenever possible.

(3) The tendency towards working in a group of mixed ages should be given preference over the organising of learning in a homogeneous age group since the passing on of experiences is stronger between children of different ages, and hierarchical situations of learning and teaching can be reduced in importance in such a way.

(4) Parents and other adults participate in the educational work of the kindergarten. Parents are affected by the situations of their children; furthermore, they can introduce practical life skills into the planning and realisation of educational activities. At the same time, the parents themselves can learn – especially if the kindergarten takes into due consideration their situations regarding content, time, and organisation.

(5) Children can participate in the planning of the educational processes. The relationship between adults and children resembles little of a classical teaching/learning relationship in that it is rather an experiential and communicational process carried out by adults and children alike. The participants can both learn *and* teach, and the teachers do not assume the exclusive role of experts.

(6) Learning for life situations also refers to learning in fields of action outside the kindergarten. Locations of learning are explored in the community in terms of projects carried out and adults from the social surroundings involve themselves in projects inside and outside the kindergarten. Reformed kindergartens are seminal points for future community or city-district centres.

(7) Everyday planning in the kindergarten is more open and is less ritualised than before the reform. The daily schedule is acted out less according to some fixed pattern of, say, playtime/breakfast together/structured activity/lunch and rest/playtime. Instead, the day is organised more in regard to *situations* and is oriented towards small groups. Work is done largely in teams and on intergroup levels.

(8) In the outfitting of reformed kindergartens, the appearance is one which is more stimulatory, more extensively arranged by individual initiative and more homely. Division of function is partly removed by converting thoroughfare zones into areas of other use for the children. The reorganisation of group rooms toward zones of learning and experience resembles principles of arrangement found in classes with open education.

The following can be listed as the essential features of the situation approach in preschool education:

(1) learning for life situations;
(2) the cultivation of the connection between social and fact-oriented learning;
(3) mixed age groups;

(4) the pedagogical participation of parents and other adults in reference to a learning situation bridging generations;
(5) a changed relationship between those teaching and those learning;
(6) community-oriented work;
(7) open planning; and
(8) the design of the kindergarten as a vital space.

This situation approach has broadened over the years of its elaboration and expansion, from a plan approach for preschool curriculum development to a frame of reference of a reformed work context in the kindergarten.

EXAMPLES OF EDUCATIONAL WORK IN REFORMED KINDERGARTENS

In its heyday, such reform in kindergartens spred like wildfire in Germany. A kindergarten teacher who had an experience would report it to others. They, in turn, did not imitate but rather developed something new out of it. Thousands acted in this way. Although the scientists who did the follow-up research used the term 'curriculum development' for this process – which in fact carried all the signs of a compaign – it actually had nothing to do with the taxonomies of a Benjamin Bloom or with any measuring and classifying done by children, as promoted by Jerome Bruner. Rather, this reform dealt with *the life situations* of children. And this all took place in the social surroundings of the kindergarten, with parents and other adults from the neighbourhood.

The development of this type of curriculum oriented itself to key situations of children, and it documented the many and various educational experiences of the adults in the preparation of children to master such situations. That is why this curriculum development has become an attempt to document the successes gained over the years–in terms of curriculum elements which, in the Federal Republic of Germany, are called 'didactic units.' The most extensive and important of such a curriculum is entitled *Social Learning*, a text of over 2000 pages, hundreds of documentary photos, situational films for children and tape recordings. It includes reports made by teams of preschool teachers from the German Youth Institute as well as teachers from nine of the eleven of German Federal States. It contains 28 didactic units for 28 key situations of German children.

The titles of these didactic units reflect the situations to which they relate. The following are given as examples:

Children in the hospital (addressing children's fears of disease and hospitalisation)
Commercial advertising
Television

Death
What my parents do during the day
Getting lost in the city
Living at home
Weekend
Children big and little
Birth and tenderness
Boys and girls (addressing the problem of the fixed roles of the sexes)
Foreign children (about 4½ million people from other countries live in the Federal Republic of Germany – most of them are foreign workers who will stay permanently in Germany with their families)
Handicapped children
Children and old people (addressing the often interrupted contact between children and the elderly)
Garbage
Children entering school

The following is an attempt to demonstrate some incidents and situational themes which were implemented in the kindergarten:

Situation: 'Handicapped'

A woman passes a kindergarten in her wheelchair. A few children who are looking out the window laugh at her. The woman turns around and talks to the kindergarten teacher. She offers to play with the children and show them what it means to be handicapped and to have to sit in a wheelchair. The children play: How does it feel to be unable to move your legs, to see, to hear? For several days, the woman plays with the children. Later, the children discover that they have no handicapped child in their group. But there is one in the neighbourhood. So children and teacher establish contact with that family and not much later, this handicapped child is accepted into the group.

Situation: 'Getting Lost'

In a department store, a child has lost his mother and panics. In the kindergarten, projects can be planned to prepare the children for the 'getting lost' situation.

Project 1: A group of children goes into a department store and discusses whom they can ask or turn to for help. when they get lost. The children hide behind some counters while one child steps forward to ask for the way to the information booth. There, over the loudspeaker, he is announced as having been lost.

Project 2: Whoever gets lost should know the number of his family's house or kindergarten and should know how to use the phone. This is a good occasion to learn numbers. 'But what can you do when you cannot use the public phone booth by yourself, and when there is no change?" There are telephone booths in the underpass to the main train station. This time, children and adults hide behind a billboard and individual children take the lead. They ask passers-by for change and for help with the telephone. Among the remarks of the passers-by are 'You just want to buy chewing gum.' 'Wait, I'll take you to the police.' 'I'll lift you and you can hold the receiver yourself.' The children exchange their experiences.

Project 3: Here, parents and teachers help children simulate 'getting lost and finding the way home again' situations. Parents play the role of passers-by. Children, in groups of two, are assigned the task of getting from an unknown location 'A' to a kindergarten 'B', unfamiliar to them. At every 150 meters or so, a passer-by with a newspaper is stationed as a sign of recognition. The passers-by are particularly observant at street crossings or at turnings.

Situation: 'Fear of Medical Treatment

When a group dental checkup is announced, no child wants to go as all of them are afraid. A kindergarten teacher asks a friend if he will act the role of a dentist. She brings an electric tooth brush (the drill), dental models, bowls, sponges and mirrors. The friend comes dressed in a white coat. The children, waiting in a row of chairs, say that they want the teacher to be treated first. After this, they then want the 'dentist' to be treated by the teacher. When the 'dentist' comply, the children agree to take their turns in the dentist chair. The next day, they go to the real dentist without hesitation and continue playing in the waiting room. The dentist plays along willingly – only the dental assistant is irritated by the confusion.

Situation: 'Children and Old People'

Conversations about the loss of relationships with old people take place in the kindergarten. Two teachers telephone a home for the elderly to make an appointment for the children's visit. The visit turns out to be a shock for the home is more a place for the dying. Many of the elderly are lying in beds and some are hardly able to respond. The children and educators are moved by the sight. As a result of this experience, old people are being invited to the kindergarten. Grandmothers come; they tell stories, show old photo albums, bring the tiddlywinks game. There is even a party in the old style with tango music and raspberry juice as make-believe champagne.

Another kindergarten was broken in and toys were destroyed. Contact was again made with an old folks' home but this time, the old people who were craftsmen were asked whether they would like to help the children to repair the toys. Some were willing. The children learned to repair the destroyed toys. The old people learned, with some help, to include the children in the work.

Situation: 'Commercial Advertising'

A boy joins the group claims, 'My Chiquita banana is the best'. (Chiquita is a brand name for bananas with a little blue sticker.) The next day, all the children brought Chiquita bananas except for a girl who had a banana without a sticker. When she was laughed at, she accused her mother of being bad because she bought a cheap banana and not a Chiquita. A few days later, the teacher brought along bananas of different origins. Among them was a Chiquita banana without a sticker. The teacher asked the original boastful boy how he could recognise the Chiquita banana. He replied it was by size. She placed the bananas in front of him. In selecting the banana, he picked the wrong one. Then he said he could recognise the Chiquita by its taste. He and the other children tasted the bananas. Again the boy could not find the Chiquita banana. Then prices were discussed with the aid of a calculator. The result was, 'If I buy cheaper bananas, I can get many more'.

Situation: 'Foreign Children and Families'

Mima, an Italian child, complains that she has to speak German whereas the other children do not have to speak Italian. A game 'packing the suitcase, Italian style' is played. Mima plays the teacher and the others guess the objects on the covered cards. They learn the Italian terms before they pack their cards into the suitcases.

Advent season. Where do foreigners go home to during advent? A Spanish–German group of children goes to the main train station with a microphone and maps. A Spanish father comes along to translate. They ask the waiting people: 'Where is home for you?' 'How long does it take for you to get there?' 'Do you have children and photographs of them?' A Moroccan, standing alone, is surprised and touched. The children help the foreigners to carry their luggage into the train compartments. Addresses are exchanged. The Moroccan sends them a postcard from his home and later visits them in their kindergarten.

Situation: 'Children in an Unfriendly Kindergarten'

The building of an urban German kindergarten of the early 1970s is a prima example of clinical dreariness with functional and thoroughfare spaces carefully separated. The rooms are flat boxes built without much care of attention. The group rooms consist of a corner with dolls, a corner for building things and cupboards with locks along the wall. In the centre, there is a large table with chairs placed around it. One day, the teachers begin turning their kindergarten upside down. They are tired of putting their children, *en masse*, through their paces like animal trainers. They do not feel at home in this building.

First of all, together with the parents, they changed the group rooms into an area resembling a labyrinth. Whoever enters the door today finds numerous nooks and crannies, transversely placed shelves, playhouses and caves. There are many items of junk, all kinds of material which children are free to take, a lot of stuff which is homemade or picked up somewhere for nothing. Everything is accessible at any time: the costume box, the make-up chest, the old record player, the theatre seat, junked clocks, radios and wagons. The children spread out and occupy themselves *by* themselves. The room no longer has two subdivisions – the one for building materials and the one for dolls. It has many corner areas: the breakfast corner, the make-up corner, the crafts corner, the cooking corner, the experimental area, the book and play area, the sleeping corner and the painting area. Since the place will soon be quite crowded, teachers and children take over the hallways and entrance ways and move into the kitchen and storage rooms. In getting rid of the sleeping area, they *make* room for themselves. They even move outside.

What is outside? There are the elephants made of steel tubing, two seesaws and the sandbox. They now bring in shipping boxes, beer cases, old canvas and ropes, and build towers and tents. Also they lay out a vegetable patch for carrots, tomatoes and cress. Animals such as guinea pigs, rabbits, hamsters and white mice try to survive in their cages among the bustle of the children. Paintings are created on the asphalt in front and on the walls of the house. Parents come toward evening and grill with their kids. All of this takes place not in a well-to-do part of the town. These changes occur in a kindergarten whose children come from a section already classified as socially notorious.

SITUATIONAL APPROACH AS A FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND KINDERGARTEN REFORM

In the following, a few requirements for curriculum development will be named, with orientation on the life situations of children. Later on, individual features of the approach will be explained in greater detail.

Prerequisites

As a pedagogical concept for kindergartens, 'situation-oriented learning' should be taken to mean the attempt to relate educational processes more strongly to the child's world, and to contribute through analysis of segments of the children's world to the legitimation of goals and contents of these educational processes. The focal points of learning and experience here are *not* reality as reconstructed by academic disciplines or specialised didactics. Instead, they are the reality of the lives of three to five-year-old children themselves – with all their questions, mysteries, contradictions, and problems.

Starting from the basis of their individual biographical development, educators should ensure that these children are given an opportunity to gain experience, enjoy possibilities of action, and make reflections which can contribute to their abilities to handle their life tasks themselves, with all the insecurities, anxieties, and conflicts which this entails. Children should deal with these tasks in an autonomous and competent manner, thereby attaining enrichment in their lives through the overcoming of obstacles.

Accordingly, pedagogical goals should not be oriented along general educational patterns but start with the specific prerequisites and needs of the children in question. It is assumed, of course, that educational processes are intended to prepare for life situations and resulting changes. Form this, we can make an attempt to determine – through the analysis of selected situation segments – the conditions that are conducive to competent thinking and doing, and which lead toward individual and collective autonomy. Consequently, some of the conclusions which can be drawn concerning the organisation of learning processes and the development of curricula can be listed as follows:

(1) Since life situations of children are complex and decisively determined by actions of people other than themselves, it will seem neccesary to include *these others* as extensively as possible as collaborators into the learning and experiential processes of children. These roles of 'collaborators' include co-acting, co-learning, co-deciding and co-advising on an equivalent basis – all of which should be integrated as extensively as possible into the respective situations with the children involved.

(2) If learning should relate to complex life experiences, the kindergarten can no longer remain the sole locale for learning by the children. Such experiences are made *outside* the educational facility of the kindergarten – in the family, the neighbourhood and encounters with various social institutions. The kindergarten, therefore, as a place of learning should open itself to the outside world in a two-fold manner. Firstly, learning processes should, wherever possible, be transferred from the traditional, closed sites of learning to the real world where actual living and action generally take place. Secondly, at the same time, a whole range of life activities should be allowed into the kindergarten. This could be done, for example, by including persons who, in certain situations, can actively participate or by making available relevant information and material from real-life situations.

(3) The standard, rigid fixation of goals of learning applicable to *all* children must be replaced by the determination of suitable situations related to the real life of the children. This can take place, of course, in a concrete fashion only by the analysis of the specific situation of the individual children and groups involved.

(4) In order to determine which skills and abilities children should most rightly be allowed to develop, the social context must be taken into account. Naturally, the learning and applying of skills which

may be foreign to the social reference frame of a situation should be avoided.

(5) Questions on educational goals as well as the realisation of certain pedagogical activities should be discussed and implemented by those actually involved in the respective situations. The situation-oriented approach does not assume that there is only one pedagogical expert (the teacher) who can competently and alone make the proper decisions within the educational process.

Now, several of the eight features of the situational approach, as mentioned earlier on, will be explained here in greater detail. These are features with a two-fold function: they characterise the *frame of the curriculum development* as well as the *changes* made in the kindergartens.

Reference to Life Situations: Connection of Social and Fact-oriented Learning

Orientation to the life situations of children becomes significant at various levels. On the one hand, important life situations can be studied so as to reveal which qualities children should rightly to gain. On the other hand, situation stimuli represent important points of departure for educational work.

What, in fact, *are* significant situations? Firstly, they are situations children are presently experiencing as well as those which they will enter in the near future. Didactic elaboration of adult situations is not what is actually important here – although, to be sure, the life situations of children are strongly influenced by conditions under which adults live. A second criterion for choice of situations is that they should not be selected as ideally typical. To do so is to view all children alike. Instead, they should be situations that are real and comprehensible to the children in all their specific and distinctive elements involved. Finally, those situations can be said to be important and possibly be influenced within the context of educational work with three to five-year olds and with participating adults.

How can situational stimuli be understood? They can be identified at various levels. The children themselves can contribute experiences of immediate interest as well as questions and problems. These can be made the starting points for educational activity. Observations in the group of children, knowledge of predictable events or of past experiences which have not yet been fully dealt with and the teachers' own needs can all provide motivation to handle topics related to these situations. Parents and other adults are important sources of topics of their own life situations and experiences gained with children. The concept of 'situational stimulus' should by no means be limited to the immediately and consciously experienced events in the children's group.

What is meant by situation research and by situation analysis? Determining the qualities for life situations requires the teacher to gain insights into the particular structures, the background experiences, the relationships within the family and the social environments in which their children grow up. By means of on-the-spot research, talks with parents and other adults involved and other sources of information, kindergarten teachers can analyse the specific situations of their respective groups of children. Only by such a situational analysis can a competent decision be made as to just what preparatory qualifications children will require to enable them to face particular questions and problems.

The goal of situation-related learning implies that teachers will have to reflect on a responsibility which they have often neglected in previous years, namely, being responsible for the everyday reality of the child's world. Pedagogical stimuli, points of departure for role-playing, projects or conversations can therefore arise directly and in many and various ways. They can be taken with reference to daily experiences with older and younger children in the mixed age group, with television, playground, eating and sleeping. They can also relate to biographically significant events such as the separation of parents or the death of a grandfather. These are all incidents which can, after all, be taken over from the surroundings in which a kindergarten is placed.

The didactics of a kindergarten is therefore oriented less to areas of learning than is the case in primary schools. Specialised didactic elements can often be integrated into the social context involved. Some examples are as follows:

(1) If children are heating milk in the kindergarten and it boils over, this little accident can, if desired, be dramatised in the form of an exercise in bodily movement.

(2) When foreign and German families celebrate an international party in the kindergarten, this occasion can, for example, afford the possibility of incorporating related musical activities. It seems only logical to impart geographical knowledge when a German-Turkish group of children wants to learn something about the country of origin of the Turkish people – and not merely in an isolated intellectual context.

(3) First mathematical steps make sense when children go shopping during an excursion and need to deal with money.

This stronger connection between social-related and fact-related learning can help to avoid learning divorced from reality – learning which has widely lost all trace of justification. Situation-related learning could also be understood as one of the possible answers concerning the discussion on compensatory education – a topic which has always been academically treated in the past and without much consequences. Here, a teacher would not likely be tempted to send the child of a labourer through a training programme separated from the child's prior world of reality as this leads to alienation. Instead, with situation-related learning, the teacher now has the opportunity in his or her supportive work of properly referring to and fully recognising the specific life experiences and qualifying predispositions of the children involved.

Learning in Groups of Mixed Ages

In the Federal Republic of Germany at the beginning of kindergarten reform, children's groups were often homogeneous in age. It was assumed that the development of the groups would be more readily promoted in such a way. One result of the reform movement, however, was to return to groups of mixed ages of three to five-year olds. Kindergarten teachers who have used situation-oriented approaches name the following advantages for working with groups of mixed ages:

(1) There is a favourable shift from learning processes strongly centred around the teacher to those focussed about the children's groups in which experiential processes take place reciprocally.

(2) There is greater correspondence in the complexity of life situations in which various age groups can participate and with equally complex and organisable learning experiences.

(3) One achieves the elimination of a hierarchical teaching/learning relationship in favour of an intricately structured system of communication within the group of children. This often occurs *without* the participation of adults – a phenomenon which promotes the self-regulatory and awareness processes in children.

(4) The possibility of forming small groups in which children with similar needs and interests, independent of ages, can undergo the experiences which they momentarily need.

(5) Finally, on an organisational level, there is an increased feasibility of undertaking projects outside the kindergarten where mutual responsibility among the children and a certain degree of independence within the subgroups are seen as absolutely necessary.

Participation of Parents and Other Adults

Another feature of reformed kindergartens which must be mentioned is the effort of many teachers to invite and motivate parents to participate in active pedagogical collaboration. This is a tricky task. Places of learning in Germany are traditionally more bounded off from parents than is the case, for example, in Anglo-American countries. In addition, parents have little time, especially when both hold a job. Nevertheless, one of the astonishing features of the preschool movement in Germany has been that the parents actually participate in numerous events in the kindergartens which include curriculum development. They make suggestions. A certain qualifying remark must, however, be made at this point: Long-term efforts are of course necessary before the collaboration of parents can become a regular and accepted fact.

All-day kindergartens can provide a good setting for parental collaboration. This also applies in cases in which teachers are willing to work with parents in unconventional ways. If this is the case, teacher-parent meetings will be more oriented toward education and planning matters. Parents initiate contacts, obtain materials and take part in projects, role playing, and excursions.

To take an example of parental collaboration, a group of parents discussed the kindergaten teacher's complaints about the trouble of 'blue Monday' with the children. On Mondays, children often appeared ill-balanced, irritable and quarrelsome. The parents involved here discussed the problems which occurred on weekends. The decision was made to spend a weekend together. They met the following Sunday at one of the fathers' trailer site outside town. Here, the children played harmoniously and mostly alone at a nearby creek while the parents occupied themselves with cards.

Two points appear especially important from experiences which have been gained to date from parental collaboration. Firstly, it has become clear that adult participation – precisely because it is life and action-oriented in the most successful examples – is not by any means restricted to certain socially and culturally privileged groups. Indeed, parents who would never attend a long-winded parent-teacher meeting somewhere will participate.

In cases of genuine collaboration, parents are neither teachers' aids (as they are in some American compensatory programmes) nor simply lookers-on who come to watch a performance once or twice a year. Ideally, they are well informed about the life situations of their children and they contribute their own experiences, these often being situations from their own lives.

Secondly, the pedagogical employment of situations can, in many cases, lead to initiatives on the parts of parents to influence a situation constructively. In carefully preparing children for a possible stay in a hospital – by visiting a doctor's office, with role playing on illness and treatment – parents and teachers can in fact positively alter a situation. An example is the insistence on the extension of visiting hours at the neighbourhood hospital. Teachers and nurses could also get together at the hospital ward to supplement the provision of toys. By such a method, learning means more than merely subjective preparation of the child. It can now also mean recognising a situation as changeable and taking the initiative. Of course, by no means is it successful in every case. However, it has been shown that people involved in this fashion have gained important insights even through *unsuccessful* attempts.

Reports have also shown the participation of adults other than the actual parents. Grandmothers came to play in the kindergarten. The boyfriend of a teacher came to play the dentist. Once, two Italian workers arrived to emplace concrete for a swing in the courtyard of the kindergarten. They not only let the children helped them but also prepared spaghetti for all of them during lunch time.

Dialogue with parents and other adults concerning the pedagogy of kindergarten includes an opportunity for mutual enlightenment and, in turn, for support and realisation of reform on the spot. For the kindergarten teachers, however, this also carries the obligation of taking the viewpoints and interpretations of their partners seriously and of providing fair treatment of the various and different opinions.

Transformation of the Relationship Between Those Teaching and Those Learning

The classic relationship between the older instructor and the younger pupil is no longer appropriate for learning processes which bridge generations. The great goal is that learning is not only for the young but for the old as well. The management of the daily and of not-so-everyday situations in life demands from all generations involved a mutual exchange of learning and of experience. It must not, of course, be denied that the experience of the older should be made available to the younger. In many cases, it cannot be disputed that the role of the teacher lies in providing impetus for new learning processes. However, if situation-related learning is in fact understood as a lifelong learning process, then it becomes clear that in mutual educational exchange, the older can also gain a wealth of experiences and insights. They can certainly be stimulated toward new processes of learning by those younger than they are and gain true assistance in their own further development. In this way, learning is no longer understood as a process in which a pedagogical 'expert' imparts precious knowledge. Learning becomes a process of mutually experiencing and communicating. Everyone involved learns and teaches – the teacher no longer plays the exclusive role of the expert.

Community-oriented Work

In several of the previous remarks and examples, a third feature of kindergarten work has hopefully become clear. This is orientation towards the community. Learning *for* life situations also means learning *in* life situations which includes fields of action outside the kindergarten. From such a viewpoint, it logically follows that projects should be executed to make learning locations in the community available to the kindergarten. This could be visiting a mother at work so that a group of children can attain insights into what parents do during the day. Another is a trip to a school to ease the transition from kindergarten to school or, as in the example earlier on, an outing to the train station, accompanied by a Spanish father, to talk to departing foreign workers during the holiday season.

Today, kindergartens in Germany are trying to be more like a community centre – a feature that should be more strongly developed in the future. Their proximity to residential living encourages this. Supportive measures, however, are needed if kindergartens are to become centres in the community which offer possibilities for education and, at the same time, provide chances to spend one's leisure time profitably, thereby creating new original fields of endeavour for their work with the family. This aid will especially be required now in Germany in view of the declining birth rate and the threat of having to close down kindergartens. This community-oriented approach in the kindergarten can encounter opposition from those who are not really prepared to grant such aid. The self-organisation in a community is less well developed in Germany than in for example, the Anglo-Saxon countries. Local political encouragement, therefore, seems necessary to aid the forms of self-organisation and augment the readiness for citizen participation.

Open Planning

As in schools, rituals can be observed in kindergartens although often in concealed fashion. These rituals can gradually be relaxed in favour of open planning in which daily scheduling no longer takes place according to the classical pattern of free play. Instead, optional breakfast is offered, and free-play and project phases are mixed. Flexible planning is preferred to fixed weekly and monthly schedules. Topics, such as the seasons of the year or certain festivals which had priority until now retreat in favour of interwoven offers of games and projects. Materials are provided more from the environs of the kindergarten and less from commercial toy production. More items are home-made than bought.

During kindergarten reform, communication among the teachers in the various participating kindergartens is often improved. More team discussions and mutual visits take place and it has become more accepted to make preparations and perform evaluation together. The outlook that whatever happened in a kindergarten group will be the sole concern of one particular teacher has faded. As more co-operation is achieved *within* a kindergarten, the teachers find ways to organise advance training programmes which extend to inter-kindergarten level.

With advancement of the professionalisation of the kindergarten teacher's work, the self-image of these educators also undergo a transformation. Many reports and statements have testified to the fact that something like a revival of a feeling of purpose has taken place with regard to this branch of education. These newly confident teachers support the objective of kindergarten in its new function as an educational institution with a real socio-pedagogical foundation.

The role perception of the kindergarten teacher has been freed from the earlier narrowness which was associated with insufficient understanding of the whole effort of preschool education. In comparison to a teacher in a normal school with specialisation perhaps in a particular subject, the role of the kindergarten teacher is far, far greater in scope. His or her area of competence is the world of the child and its parents. Here, social reality is not filtered through isolated fields of learning with each of them narrowly isolated from the other. In all cases, the kindergarten teacher plays the additional role of a social and community worker, for example. Despite his or her professionalism, the kindergarten teacher is always partly a layman. Indeed, no one who opens up such fields of action and who deals with all their modes of contradiction can be a person who has ready made solutions at hand. With increasing competence, however, it has been seen that growing self-assurance and self-confidence go hand in hand.

Indeed, teachers from model projects and experimental kindergartens report that it is now easier for them to put over their positions to kindergarten sponsors, parents or schoolteachers. Far more than before, they now show an active interest in political decisions in the area of preschool education. They also have better knowledge of the rights they have at their disposal. They have, furthermore, become more sensitive to the necessary framework conditions in their work through the study of new educational concepts. These kindergarten teachers can now articulate more strongly through a teachers' union which of these framework conditions are necessary for them to keep alive the kindergarten reform as well as to be able to implement it without intolerable stress.

EXPERIENCES WITH THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH IN NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The key situation identified by German kindergarten teachers reflects the German reality i.e. the reality of an industrialised land. Many of the educational ideas which are dominant in the work of reformed kindergartens would not be imaginable in a setting without the social developments prevailing in central Europe. The question is, however, whether the principles of the situational approach can in fact be identified in terms of universal validity. To recapitulate, several of these key principles as mentioned before are the orientation towards situations, participation of parents and laymen, opening of the kindergarten to the neighbourhood, deritualisation of everyday schedules and rejection of rigid training programmes.

Educators in developing countries and those in other countries with marked social contrasts and insufficient care provided for children of socially disadvantaged groups have successfully assimilated various elements of this approach. The reasons are:

(1) The situational approach can further the dismantling of certain forms of 'cultural invasion' suffered in the education sector and it can provide an alternative to this encroachment from the transfer of European or North American curricula. It provides a way to tie into key situations in the respective countries and enables their interpretation in terms of a kind of national pedagogy. It is actually liberating in a sense because it conceives of situations as not only challenges to be mastered but also, at the same time, as access in a certain way to concrete utopias as subjects of transformation.
(2) The situational approach can be viewed as a contribution to the decolonialisation of learning, in that its logic is capable of revealing patterns in colonial myths. It can, also aid in the reconstruction of situations of cultural identity of a particular nation, in the sense of 'critical-transitive consciousness' (Paulo Freire).
(3) The situational approach is an approach which is critical to institutions which implies, of course, a deschooling of traditional learning facilities. This feature can make room for a new concept of learning – one in which learning is taken as active participation in local and regional development.
(4) This approach can take socio-cultural minorities with their specific life environments into consideration.
(5) The situational approach features patterns of popular education and basic democracy. It is, after all, oriented towards activation and professionalisation of all those directly involved, including the laymen. It points towards a reform process with many aspects of a campaign and with the exclusion of any kinds of dominating aspects. It is, moreover, a low-cost programme, starting from very developmental work and reaching up towards the equipping of preschool institutions.

A reform movement oriented on this very approach may well start out with a few kindergartens and then reach out to embrace more and more institutions in the manner of a campaign. Some of the prerequisites for such a campaign are:

(1) The use of dialogue as a method. This means organising the development of a communicating process with the participation of as many teachers and parents as possible.
(2) The inclusion of the existing infrastructure at local and regional levels.

The steps of curriculum development consist of the following:

(1) Inquiries into the life environment of the children and the identification of key situations.
(2) Determination of situation-oriented educational goals.
(3) Development of educational stimuli.
(4) Documentation of the experiences gained in terms of curriculum units.
(5) Development of additional materials to professionalise kindergarten teachers. This would be aimed towards enabling them, for example, to work with parents, be involved in community efforts, obtain and produce didactic materials and plan educational work.

A major difference between Europe and the developing countries where educators have worked on adapting the situational approach lies in the area of insufficient care for the children of socio-economically weak population groups. 'Insufficient care' includes the phenomena such as economic distress of the families, inadequate housing conditions, unemployment of parents, absence of both parents who are at work, broken homes, improper nutrition and medical care, high infant mortality and child labour. The key situations identified by kindergarten teachers from such countries reflect these childhood conditions.

In Central and South America, situations have been identified which repeatedly reveal these as the basic problems and needs of children. They are also often in accordance with the views of the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire. A few examples of key situations and themes of curriculum units named by Latin American kindergarten teachers which have been used are neglected children, child labour from an early age, begging, violence towards children, children alone at home, fragmented families, limited living space, illness and health, hunger and nutrition, traumatisation through war, and the influence of television and advertising. Also included are situations such as how discarded materials can be creatively utilised and how to find food outdoors.

An example of a kindergarten (or child day-care centre) learning unit is the survival situation. Korean teachers who work in the poor section of Seoul have evaluated 'getting lost in the city' as an especially significant situation. It can, indeed, be practically impossible for a child to find his way to safety without a good knowledge of the locality. Situations important to them which resemble those of their Latin American colleagues are proper nutrition, bodily hygiene, disease and treatment, and commercial advertising. Also important to them are situations of the reconstruction of national and cultural identity as regards to customs and habits, clothing, dances, songs and festivals. This all plays an important role in view of the invasions and cultural oppressions suffered over the history of their country.

REFORM AS A PROCESS

In the Federal Republic of Germany, kindergarten reform was not a smooth process. Following a period of economic prosperity with great importance attached to questions of education policy, we are now in a phase of economic difficulties. There are now other priorities than those of continuing educational reforms or securing the standards of preschool education. But, since teachers are important agents of the reform, many of them are still willing to continue and defend the reform, even without administrational support. So it has become a 'rolling reform,' a 'grassroots' movement and a largely self-organised process of educational innovation and experimentation. Since German kindergarten teachers are now largely left alone by the government without financial support, they are forced to make toys rather than buy them. They must learn to improvise and create landscapes for children with inexpensive materials. Now, more than before, they resemble their colleagues from developing countries in their manner of working. With regard to the development and reform of preschool education, an international exchange of experiences concerning these matters, at this time, seems more realistic and helpful than, say, the exchange of rigid research designs or standardised concepts of learning in early childhood.

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Symposium I

SYMPOSIUM I A : Cognitive Development of Children

CHAIRPERSON *Associate Professor Leong Yin Ching*
RAPPORTEUR *Mrs. Mogana Dhamotharan*

Patterns of Cognitive Development : Children of Under Five in Jakarta**

Singgih D. Gunarsa

Studies have shown that apart from internal factors of heredity and maturation, external factors such as parental care, education, nutrition and training affect the cognitive development of children. Consequently, child-rearing practices may have a significant effect on the child's cognitive development. This study aims at investigating the effect of child-rearing practices on the cognitive development of children under five years of age.

A questionnaire designed to investigate this problem consists of 71 questions which can be classified into 4 main categories:

(1) Parents' efforts which are intentionally directed towards developing the child's cognition through verbal communication, toys, books and magazines, radio, television, video and cassette;
(2) Well-planned activities conducted by parents;
(3) Incidental activities; and
(4) Factors which indirectly affect cognitive development.

The sample consists of 100 mothers of high socioeconomic status (Group A), 100 of low socioeconomic status (Group B) and 25 of high socioeconomic status who are used as control (Group C). These subjects are selected by systematic random sampling. Questionnaires are presented to the mothers of children of below five years in the form or personal interviews.

** In the Proceedings, titles of papers marked with double astericks indicate that the published versions are abstracts. The full papers are available from the editors.

The following are some of the more interesting findings:

(1) In all the groups, mothers train children to speak while fathers have a secondary role.
(2) About 95% of the children in the high socioeconomic status (Group A) are provided with toys before they are twelve months old while only 67% of the low SES groups (Group B) are provided with such facilities.
(3) Group A emphasises the educative aspect when choosing toys for the children while Group B tends to choose toys which are interesting.
(4) About 59% of Group A are given books by the time they are 24 months old while only 19.7% of Group B have such facilities.
(5) Parents of Group A children select books to increase intelligence (86.6%) while only 33.3% of Group B select books for this purpose.
(6) In Group B, the family programme usually involves visits to relatives but the activities of Group A children are more varied and consist of swimming, going out of the cities, dining at restaurants, going to book shops and the zoo.

The data show that children from the high socioeconomic status have better facilities, a more stimulating environment and varied life experiences. Consequently, it is not surprising that children in Group A speak earlier than those in Group B.

Preferences and Abilities in Children's Conceptual Styles: Results of A German Researcher Project on Concept Attainment**

Mathias Petzold, Horst Hickel and Jürgen Vetter

Our research project was carried out in three stages: the first stage aimed at getting a detailed description of preschool children's conceptual matching behaviour; at the second stage, the relationships between intellectual cognitive abilities and forms of matching behaviour were investigated; and at the third stage, developmental trends of cognitive styles were determined.

In the first stage, the Analysic Contextual Matching Test (ACMT) was administered to 333 preschool children. Two styles, Formal and Thematic matching were found among the Ss.

The results did not yield substantial correlations between stylistic preferences and cognitive competence. However, a cluster analysis on the basis of the cognitive variables made it possible to describe six types of preschool children's matching behaviours with the clearly differentiated pattern of cognitive abilities. However, a clear answer of the association of matching preferences and cognitive competences could not be given.

In the third stage, children from the first and third year of primary school were also included to enable developmental trends of cognitive styles to be studied. Analysis of the data revealed a significant age trend with an increase Flexible Type of matching behaviour with age while the other two dimensions (Thematic and Formal) decreased with age.

A detailed analysis of the data of the three matching tests revealed a distinction between preference and competence components. The results confirmed the assumption that cognitive competence influences the child's preferences. In a redefined analysis of the preference components, personality related stable preferences were not confirmed. This suggests that there are no stable cognitive styles in childhood but further research is necessary to test this hypothesis..

SYMPOSIUM I B : Mental Abilities of Children and Adolescents

CHAIRPERSON	*Mr. Eric Manning*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. Jagdish Raj Sharma*

The Impact of Language on Logical Thinking in Thai Children: an Experimental Research*

Chamnong Vibulsri

INTRODUCTION

The attempts to understand the impact of language on logical thinking frequently lead researchers to an examination of problem-solving behaviour in young children. This examination is due to a basic asumption that the child is indeed 'father of the man'.[1] Hilgard and his associate further state that 'We can understand much of adult behaviour only through a knowledge of the cause of its development in the child'.[2]

Historically, the relationship between language and logical thinking was proposed as a study in the eighteenth century by Johann Herder.[3] Since the early nineteenth century, however, the area of language-thought relationship has been of interest to scholars in various academic disciplines.[4] Von Humboldt looked at language as a tool used by human beings to represent ideas for their communicative purposes.[5] Sapir and Whorf advocated that our logical thinking is dependent upon our language.[6] Carroll postulates that 'thought and cognition are presupposed by language'.[7] Cherry suggests that language is dominant over thought.[8] Dance and Larson imply that language can help children develop their logical thinking, particularly for problem-solving purposes.[9]

Similarly, when dealing specifically with young children (5, 6 and 7 year olds), Bruner agrees that language can facilitate their logical thinking in solving problems.[10] Piaget disagrees with Bruner concerning the explanation of the language-thought relationship in young children. Piaget contends that the structures which characterise thought have their roots in action and in sensori-motor mechanisms that are deeper than language.[11]

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Based on the differing viewpoints of Piaget and Bruner, this research was conducted in an attempt to obtain further empirical support for either position. This study dealt specifically with Thai children aged 5-7 years old. According to Piaget's theory, the children in this study were in a transition period between the 'pre-operational' and 'concrete operational' stages. Consequently, only problems of 'conservation of substance' were used to investigate the impact of language on logical thinking in Thai children. This limitation was based on Piaget's finding that in young children, conservation of substance develops before conservation of weight and conservation of volume respectively.[12]

The major purposes of this study were: (a) to test whether and how language affects logical thinking in Thai children (b) to ascertain which theory, Piaget's and Bruner's, would explain more accurately the relationship between language and logical thinking in Thai children and (c) to search for any additional evidence relevant to Thai children's logical thinking process in order to apply it properly to both teaching and learning activities.

The three hypotheses tested in this research were:

H_1: Children exposed to pictures on a videotape with verbal explanation of conservation principles will perform significantly better on the conservation test than those children exposed to the same pictures on a videotape without verbal explanation $(P + VE) > (P)$.

H_2: Children exposed to the recorded verbal explanation without seeing any illustrative pictures on the videotape will perform significantly better than children exposed only to the illustrative pictures on the videotape without hearing any verbal explanation of the same conservation principles $(VE) > (P)$.

H_3: There will be no significant difference in conservation between children exposed *only* to the recorded verbal explanation and children exposed simultaneously to *both* the recorded verbal explanation and illustrative pictures $(VE) = (P + VE)$.

These three hypotheses are interrelated and they can be precisely stated as: $(VE) = (P + VE) > (P)$.

METHODS

This experiment was a continuation of my previous study conducted with American children as subjects.[13] The research paradigm was a 3 x 3 factorial design. The two major independent variables were: (1) age of the sample with three different levels: 5, 6 and 7 year old (2) videotaping and recording information presented to the children in three different conditions: (a) nonverbal language or pictures only (P) (b) verbal language or verbal explanation only (VE) and (c) a combination of both nonverbal and verbal languages (P + VE). The children were randomly assigned to one of these three conditions. Three dependent variables were used, namely three sets of children's scores earned on a selection test and two achievement tests.

Subjects

A total of 153 Thai children identified by the selection test as 'nonconservers' were selected for the sample in this study. The sample was drawn from a list of school children in Bangkok, Thailand, whose ages were 5, 6 and 7 years. The 5, 6 and 7 year old children were used as the sample because of the assumption that at these age levels, children did not seem to demonstrate consistently true conservation behaviour.[14] Of all the nonconservers selected for the sample, there were 51 children for each age group (17 children for each condition).

Materials/Equipment

The following materials and equipment were used in this study:

(1) A set of coloured National portable videotape recorder to present information of conservation principles to children.

(2) Two cassette tape recorders and their audio cassette tapes for recording and replaying the recorded data.

(3) Four beakers for containing liquid substance: two of them were identical in size (150 milliliters for each), another was larger (400 milliliters in size) and the other was the largest (1,000 milliliters).

(4) Six alternative sets of wire coils, 1½ inches in diameter with three loops for each. Only one set of them was used at a time for determining each child's achievement of conservation of wire. To test the conservation, the shape of wire coil was stretched to form a spiral.

(5) Soft drink (Fanta) was shown on the videotape to demonstrate conservation principles to nonconservers after the selection and before the achievement tests.

(6) Water was used to test each child's achievement of conservation of liquid substance. It was poured first from the largest beaker into two identical containers until it reached the same level. The shape of the water was then altered by pouring it into a container of a different diameter.

(7) A set of four clay balls, the first two balls were identical in size (1 inch in diameter for each); of the remaining two, one ball was 2/3 inch in diameter. To test the conservation of clay, one of the identical clay balls was modified by elongating it like a sausage.

Procedure

Three separate sets of conservation tests were prepared and administered individually. One set was the selection test, containing questions dealing specifically with the conservation of wire; the other two sets were the achievement tests, containing questions dealing specifically with the conservation of water and clay. All tests were administered in Thai in a type of 'interviewing' situation, similar to those used by Piaget and Inhelder.[15] The testing materials for each test were presented in two major directions (a) two identical objects were lined up in a direction called 'parallel dimension' (i.e. the direction which was parallel to the chests of the interviewer and the child) (b) the two identical objects were shown first in a 'parallel dimension', and then one of them was transformed by placing it in a new direction called 'perpendicular dimension' (i.e. the direction which was perpendicular to the interviewer and the child).

The selection test was given to children before they were exposed to any conditions. By contrast, the achievement tests were given to children immediately after they were exposed to one of the three conditions: P, VE or P + VE. All responses made by children from each test were tape recorded for determining the 'interjudge reliability.'

Scoring and Reliability

Children's performances on each conservation test were graded on a 3 point scale: '0' = fail, '1' = intermediate, and '2' = pass. The scoring was done separately by three independent judges for each test in order to obtain 'interjudge reliability' of the test scores. The interjudge reliability for the selection test was 100% agreement but the average interjudge reliability for each achievement test was 97.39%.

Data Analyses

Children's test scores were computed as frequency data, ordinal scale data and interval scale data. The major statistical tests used were the arithmetic mean, the chi square, the t test, the two-way analysis of variance and the Pearson r. All test results were computed and analysed through both computer processing and content analysis procedure.

RESULTS

General Findings

(1) Age. For conservation of water, the x^2 analysis (shown in Table 1) indicated no significant differences among the groups of 5, 6 and 7 year olds, $x^2(4) = 7.43$, $P < .1149$. Analysis of variance (presented in Table 2) provided the same finding, $F(2, 144) = 2.40$. $p < .10$.

Table 1
Conservation of Water:
Frequency of Children's Scores Classified by Age

	Age/Year			
Scores	5	6	7	Row Total
0	32	29	30	91
1	11	6	4	21
2	8	16	17	41
Column Total	51	51	51	153

$x^2 (4) = 7.43, P < .1149.$

Table 2
Conservation of Water:
Analysis of Variance for Children's Scores Classified by Age and Condition

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Age	1.58	2	0.79	2.40
Condition	62.52	2	31.26	94.71**
Age x Condition	4.03	4	1.01	3.05*
Residual	47.55	144	0.33	

** $p < .01$
* $p < .02$

Similarly, for conservation of clay, the x^2 analysis (shown in Table 3) indicated no significant differences among the three age levels, $x^2(4) = 2.50$, $p < .6439$. Analysis of variance (Table 4) revealed the same effect, $F(2, 144) = 1.65, p < .10$ (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3
Conservation of Clay:
Frequency of Children's Scores Classified by Age

	Age/Year			
Scores	5	6	7	Row Total
0	36	33	30	99
1	5	4	4	13
2	10	14	17	41
Column Total	51	51	51	153

$x^2(4) = 2.50, p < .6439.$

Table 4
Conservation of Clay:
Analysis of Variance for Children's Scores Classified by Age and Condition

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Age	1.66	2	0.83	1.65
Condition	35.46	2	17.73	35.23**
Age x Condition	8.42	4	2.11	4.18*
Residual	72.47	144	0.50	

** $p < .0001$
* $p < .003$

(2) Condition. For conservation of water, the x^2 analysis (Table 5) indicated a significant difference among the three conditions, $x^2(4) = 87.85$ $p < .00001$. Analysis of variance (Table 2) resulted in the same outcome, $F(2, 144) = 94.71, p < .01$ (Tables 5 and 2 respectively).

Table 5
Conservation of Water:
Frequency of Children's Scores Classified by Condition

Scores	P	VE	P+VE	Row Total
0	47	40	4	91
1	2	5	14	21
2	2	6	33	41
Column Total	51	51	51	153

$x^2(4) = 87.85, p < .00001$

Similarly, for conservation of clay, the x^2 analysis (Table 6) revealed significant differences among the three conditions, $x^2(4) = 46.88$, $p < .00001$. Analysis of variance (Table 4) also revealed the same result, $F(2, 144) = 35.23$, $p < .00001$. (Tables 4 and 6).

Table 6
Conservation of Clay:
Frequency of Children's Scores Classified by Condition

Scores	P	VE	P+VE	Row Total
0	45	39	15	99
1	2	5	6	13
2	4	7	30	41
Column Total	51	51	51	153

$x^2(4) = 46.88, p < .00001.$

Testing of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: $(P + VE) > (P)$. For conservation of water, the x^2 result (Table 7) indicated a significant difference between the P + VE and the P conditions, $x^2(2) = 72.71, P < .00001$. The *t*-test result (Table 8) revealed the same outcome, t $(100) = 13.42, P < .00001$. Accordingly, hypothesis 1 was supported for water (Tables 7 and 8 respectively).

Table 7
Conservation of Water:
Pairwise Comparisons by Using x^2 Based on Frequency of Children's Scores, Classified by Conditions

Scores	Conditions					
	P (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)
0	47	40	47	4	40	4
1	2	5	2	14	5	14
2	2	6	2	33	6	33
x^2 (df = 2)	3.85 $p < .1460$		72.71 $P < .00001$		52.41 $P < .00001$	

Table 8
Conservation of Water: Pairwise Comparisons by Using *t*-test Based on Children's Mean Scores, Classified by Conditions

Scores	Conditions					
	P (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)
x	0.1176	0.3333	0.1176	1.5686	0.3333	1.5686
SD	0.431	0.683	0.431	0.640	0.683	0.640
x^2 (df = 100)	1.91 $P < .059$		13.42 $P < .0001$		9.42 $P < .0001$	

Similarly, for conservation of clay, the x^2 analysis (Table 9) revealed a significant difference between the P + VE and the P conditions, $x^2(2) = 36.88$, $p < .00001$. The *t*-test result (Table 10) showed the same outcome, $t\ (100) = 7.37$, $p < .0001$. Therefore, hypothesis 1 was also supported for clay (Tables 9 and 10 respectively).

Table 9
Conservation of Clay: Pairwise Comparisons by Using x^2 Based on Frequency of Children's Scores, Classified by Conditions

Scores	Conditions					
	P (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)
	45	39	45	15	39	15
	2	5	2	6	5	6
	4	7	4	30	7	30
x^2	2.53		36.88		25.05	
(df = 100)	P< .2819		P< .00001		P< .00001	

Table 10
Conservation of Clay: Pairwise Comparisons by Using t-test Based on Children's Mean Scores, Classified by Conditions

Scores	Conditions					
	P (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)
x^2	0.1961	0.3725	0.1961	1.2941	0.3725	1.2941
(df = 100)	0.566	0.720	0.566	0.901	0.720	0.901
t	1.38		7.37		5.71	
(Df-1000)	P< .172		P<0001		P< .0001	

Hypothesis 2: *(VE) > (P).* For conservation of water, the x^2 analysis (Table 7) indicated no significant difference between the VE and the P conditions, $x^2(2) = 52.41$, $P < .00001$. The t-test result (Table 8) revealed the same outcome, $t\,(100) = 9.42$, $P < .0001$.

Similarly, the findings for conservation of clay (Table 9) indicated no significant difference between the VE and the P conditions, $x^2(2) = 2.53$, $P < .2819$. The t-test result (Table 10) showed the same effect, $t\,(100) = 1.38$, $P < .172$. Consequently, no support was found for the second hypothesis with regard to either conservation task.

Hypothesis 3: (VE) = (P + VE). For conservation of water, the x^2 analysis (reported in Table 7) indicated a significant difference between the P + VE and the VE conditions, $x^2(2) = 52.41$, $P < .00001$. The t-test result (presented in Table 8) revealed the same outcome, $t\,(100) = 9.42$, $P < .0001$.

For conservation of clay, the x^2 analysis (Table 9) indicated a significant difference between the P + VE and the VE conditions, $x^2(2) = 25.05$, $P < .00001$. The *t*-test result (Table 10) showed the same effect, $t(100) = 5.71$, $P < .0001$. Therefore, no support was found for the third hypothesis with regard to either conservation task.

These findings can be precisely re-stated as: (P + VE) > (P) = (VE). That is, there is no significant difference in performance between children exposed *only* to the illustrative pictures on the videotape and children exposed *only* to the recorded verbal explanation. This finding points to the fact that verbal language (VE) and nonverbal language (P) alone have no significant impact on logical thinking in children. By contrast, children exposed to pictures with verbal explanation (P + VE) will perform significantly better than children exposed to the same pictures without verbal explanation (P) and also better than children exposed only to the recorded verbal explanation without seeing any illustrative pictures (VE). This indicates the fact that the language in which both verbal and nonverbal aspects are combined definitely has a stronger impact on logical thinking in Thai children than either verbal or nonverbal language alone.

The results of this experimental research also revealed the following information:

(1) In general, there is no significant difference in conservation achievement of both water and clay among children aged 5, 6 and 7 years old except in the following cases:

> There is a significant difference in performance between children aged 5 and 7 who were exposed to a combination of verbal and nonverbal languages (P + VE) regarding conservation of both water and clay.
>
> There is a significant difference in performance between children aged 5 and 6 who were exposed to a combination of verbal and nonverbal language (P + VE) regarding conservation of water only.
>
> There is a significant difference in performance between children aged 6 and 7 who were exposed to a combination of verbal and nonverbal languages (P + VE) regarding conservation of clay only.

These findings reveal that age alone has no impact upon logical thinking in Thai Children. However, if Thai children at different age levels are exposed to appropriate lanugage (i.e. the language in which both verbal and nonverbal aspects are combined) then they can use their logical thinking better in problem-solving. Therefore, it may be concluded that both age and conditions in which appropriate language is used are combining factors that have direct influence upon Thai children's logical thinking process.

By contrast, the use of inappropriate language in teaching children (e.g. using either verbal or nonverbal language alone instead of a combination of both) may result in the confusion of the older children. Hence, there was a tendency to show poorer performance than that of younger children as indicated in Tables 11 and 12.

Table 11
Conservation of Water: Children's Mean Scores
Classified by Condition and Age

Age/Year	Condition			
	P (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)	Total (n = 153)
5	0.1176	0.3529	1.1176	0.5294
6	0.1765	0.3529	1.7059	0.7451
7	0.0588	0.2941	1.8824	0.7451
Total	0.1176	0.3333	1.5686	0.6732

Table 12
Conservation of Clay: Children's Mean Scores
Classified by Condition and Age

Age/Year	Condition			
	P (n = 51)	VE (n = 51)	P + VE (n = 51)	Total (n = 51)
5	0.2353	0.3529	0.8824	0.4902
6	0.2941	0.4706	1.1176	0.6275
7	0.0588	0.2941	1.8824	0.7451
Total	0.1961	0.3725	1.2941	0.6209

(2) In answering questions which require logical thinking about conservation of water, the most common reasons in order of frequency were 'identity', 'compensation', 'reality' and 'reversibility'. This suggests that in helping Thai children develop a proper logical thinking process concerning conservation of liquid substance, the teacher should begin by stressing the 'identity' aspect first, 'reality' and then 'reversibility'.

(3) In answering questions which require logical thinking about conservation of clay, the most common reasons were the order of 'compensation', 'identity', 'reality' and 'reversibility'. This suggests that in helping Thai children develop a proper logical thinking process concerning conservation of such substance as clay, the teacher should begin by stressing

the 'compensation' aspect first, then followed by the rest. (The findings in (2) and (3) also indicated that in teaching Thai children to solve different problems logically, the teacher should apply different methods. However, these methods of teaching must be in line with the children's tendency to understand each logical principle involved).

(4) The majority of children who gave inappropriate reasonings about conservation of water emphasized such dimensions as 'height', 'width' or 'depth', respectively. This finding supports Piaget's theory[16] that when answering questions on conservation of substance, children tend to stress the only dimension of the object as they see it.

(5) The majority of children who gave inappropriate reasonings about conservation of clay emphasised such dimensions as 'length, or 'width' or 'thickness'. This finding also supports Piaget's theory.

(6) The comparison between Thai children and American children revealed the following findings. As for Thai children, the difference in experimental conditions resulted in a significant difference in logical thinking for both conservation tasks. By contrast, when assigned to different experimental conditions there was a significant difference in logical thinking of American children for only conservation of water. The evidence affirmed that different methods of teaching are preferably required in order to teach Thai children effectively as opposed to American children. Consequently, Thai educators and teachers should not follow strictly the principles used by Americans in teaching young Thai children as it might not yield the same result. This finding, however, requires further review and in-depth investigation.

(7) In testing the performance of children on conservation of water and clay, it was found that the interaction between age and condition had no significant effect on the performance of American children. However, the same interaction showed a significant effect on the performance of Thai children. Therefore, in teaching Thai children, it is important to take into account both age level and the appropriate method of teaching for each age level. Otherwise the teaching may not achieve the desired result. This finding re-affirmed the necessity to review the present educational system in Thailand, especially at the levels of pre-school and elementary school.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Effects of Language

Concerning the effects of language, the results from testing all hypotheses suggested that the language in combination with both verbal and nonverbal aspects had a stronger impact on logical thinking of Thai children than either verbal or nonverbal language alone. Besides, it was discovered that verbal language alone had no better effect than nonverbal language. However, these findings pointed out that language definitely has an impact on logical thinking of Thai children. However, it must be the language in which both verbal and nonverbal aspects are combined and communicated appropriately for each age level. Generally speaking, this finding is congruent with Berlo's theory that states that 'We know that two channels are usually better than one, that a receiver will be more likely to decode a message accurately if he can see it and hear it at the same time.'[17]

Awareness of this finding may be helpful for elementary school teachers and curriculum planners to select teaching stimuli properly and to plan effective classroom activities, especially for young children. It suggested that the most effective method of teaching 'conservation of substance' to young children is the 'audio-visual approach'.

Effect of Age.

Regarding the effects of age, the results of this study revealed that there was no significant difference in the logical thinking patterns of Thai children at different age levels. This finding tends to be incongruent with Piaget's theory which maintains that age is an important factor for young children's achievement of conservation. However, in order to substantiate Piaget's contention on this particular aspect, further research to follow up this study is needed.

Furthermore, a comparative study between Thai children and American children showed that Thai children's achievement of conservation of water did not differ from conservation of clay, even if the age levels were different. By contrast, American children showed significant distinction in their conservation achievement at different age levels. From these findings, the following presumptions can be drawn:

(1) The development of Thai children in relation to conservation
tas tasks may be slower than that of American children.
(2) Differences in environmental conditions, methods of child rearing and educational system, etc. may have direct influence upon logical thinking process of Thai children.

These findings implied that Thai educators and teachers should not follow strictly the American experts' models in teaching young Thai children since the evidence affirmed that the development of logical thinking in Thai children is remarkably different from that of American children.

The Piaget-Bruner Controversy

The evidence obtained from the study of Thai children did not support Piaget's theory with regard to the following argument: 'age or development of 'operational structures' are major factors in the achievement of conservations'. This conflicting point can be explained. First, the development of Thai children may be slower than that of American children by nature. Thus, if the age level of the children is further extended, differences resulting from age may occur. Second, besides age, language is another factor. The evidence obtained from this study clearly indicated that if the language, in which both verbal and nonverbal aspects are combined, is used in explaining conservation principles to children, these children can develop a proper logical thinking process in solving conservation problems. Experiments done by Paris and Mahoney,[18] Sullivan, [19] and Sullivan and Waghorn[20] also produced the same results. This finding leads one to think that special training techniques may enable the children to develop their logical thinking, regardless of age. Based on the empirical evidence obtained in the present study, Piaget's theory may need revision in certain aspects.

With regard to Bruner's theory, the findings in general partially supported Bruner when he contends that language can facilitate young children's solving of conservation problems. However, Bruner seems to overemphasise the significance of language and pay no attention to other factors which may contribute to the logical thinking process of the children. In brief, both Piaget's and Bruner's theories need to be integrated to become an accurate theory, as suggested by Steiner,[21] Peill,[22] and Fischer.[23]

In answering the question posed at the beginning of this study 'Between Piaget's and Bruner's theories, which theory would explain more accurately the relationship between language and logical thinking in Thai children?' It could be concluded that Bruner's theory seemed to be more congruent with the process of logical thinking in Thai children than that of Piaget's theory. Unfortunately, neither theory is totally accurate. The overall results suggest integration of the two theories.

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Facilitating Class Inclusion Performance in Young Children

Seng Seok Hoon

INTRODUCTION

A major issue in the recent research literature on children's cognitive development has been the degree which young children's logical competence has been underestimated. For example, Gelman (1978) has observed that by using the same procedures to administer the same tasks' to children of widely differing ages, we tend to treat the young child's processing capacity as similar to that possessed by the older child. Siegel (1978) found that many children who fail to demonstrate proficiency on traditional cognitive tasks nevertheless are capable of responding correctly to less verbal tasks which require the same logical abilities. Carmi (1981) argues that the life experiences of children provide them, at a very young age, with some sense of many concepts and reasoning patterns. However, if the cognitive tasks used to assess performance are incongruent with everyday experiences, then these tasks do not make sense to the young child. Donaldson (1978) believes that this is often the case and the child misinterprets the task. Consequently, such tasks typically underestimate the cognitive abilities of young children.

The structure of the task used to assess the young child's logical competence is a major factor contributing to the underestimation of that competence. Researchers have discovered that the requirements for successful performance on a given task affect the judgment of the competence assessed. When task requirements are changed, the performance of the young child changes. For example, contextual task requirements and procedural modifications have significantly altered performance in spatial perspective-taking (Hirata, 1982). Procedural changes in Piaget's conservation tasks have also led to marked changes in performance.

In order to study closely the conditions under which competence is being demonstrated, the relationship between task requirements and performance must be much more carefully examined. This will clarify the distinction between the competence inherent in the child and the performance he demonstrates on a task.

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between task manipulations and the child's performance on a cognitive task. Specifically, it examines the effects of varying task structure on class inclusion performance. The research attempts to ascertain both the extent to which variation in class inclusion performance is influenced by different task manipulations and the extent to which these task variations are interactive in their effects. Based on theoretical and empirical considerations, a number of task manipulations will be selected to explore their individual and additive effects on class inclusion performance.

CLASS INCLUSION PERFORMANCE

The ability to classify has long been recognised as a critical aspect of cognition. From the time of Binet, questions involving classification have been found in intelligence tests. Tests of classification have been used to study flexibility of thinking. Classification is an important mental process in a young child's life as it involves the ability to sort or group a collection of objects according to a specified rule or in a systematic way. It is the child's way of making sense out of a complex world by reducing the number of pieces of environmental information with which he must deal.

Many kinds of classification behaviour have been investigated. Kofsky (1966) used a series of eleven classification problems to study the development of classification behaviour of children between ages of four and nine years. She found that class inclusion is the logical and critical end point in the development of young children's classification behaviour. Her results show that the acquisition of classification skills is gradual and requires a long period of time for its complete development. Children invariably pass all other classification tests before the class inclusion test.

Class inclusion ability has also been taken as a critical indicator of operativity within the Piagetian framework (Flavell, 1963; Inhelder and Piaget, 1964; Trabasso *et al.*, 1978). Primarily for these reasons, class inclusion performance has been studied more extensively than other types of classification behaviour. Though excellent comprehensive reviews of this research exist (Trabasso *et al.*, 1978; Winer, 1980), no research has been made to isolate the most potent task manipulations affecting class inclusion performance and to ascertain their joint effects.

A careful review was undertaken of the more than 60 class inclusion studies reported since 1964. Statistical significance, successful replication, and lack of conflicting evidence were used as criteria in determining three general types of task manipulation found to have the strongest facilitative effects on class inclusion performance. These manipulations all have the effect of emphasising the superordinate class. The most consistently found effects have been due to the use of perceptual cues in the stimulus array. Specifically, the use of perceptually distinctive features to accent the entire superordinate class has been most beneficial in improving class inclusion performance (McGarrigle, Grieve and Hughes, 1978; Tatarsky, 1974; Wilkinson, 1976). The inclusion of items from extranous superordinate classes in the stimulus array has also had positive effects on performance (Trabasso *et al.*, 1978; Wohlwill, 1968). The most common error in class inclusion tasks is the direct comparison of the larger and smaller subordinate classes. Adding extraneous items theoretically makes this comparison more difficult and thus makes the superordinate class more salient. Modification of the linguistic structure of the class inclusion question is the third type of manipulation found to be effective generally in improving performance. Both Shipley (1979) and Hodkin (1981) reported a greater number of class inclusion responses when the word 'all' was used to modify the superordinate class. Winer's (1974) research on verbally elaborated questions lends further support to the importance of linguistic modification.

In addition to these types of task manipulation, class inclusion performance may also be affected by the specific superordinate classes used. Inhelder and Piaget (1964) found that children had a much more difficult time when 'animals' was the superordinate class than when 'flowers' was used. Brown (1958) hypothesised that children learn to label objects which make up classes such as 'animals' in a different manner from the way in which they learn to label objects which belong to classes such as 'flowers'. Labels learned for the 'animals' category are usually subordinate class labels like 'dog' and 'cat' whereas the label learned for objects in the 'flowers' category is invariable 'flowers', the superordinate class label itself. Brown argued that the child learns more specific (subordinate class) labels for objects which the adult expects her to distinguish but she learns the general (superordinate class) labels for objects which she is not expected to distinguish. Thus the specificity or generality of object labels acquired by the child is a function of the discriminatory abilities expected of her by adults. Markman's research (Markman, 1973; Markman and Siebert, 1976) adds support to the notion of differences is superordinate label salience. She found that when a collective noun like 'family' was used for the superordinate class, class inclusion performance improved significantly. Support for the importance of class content *within* the superordinate class was found by Carson and Abrahamson (1976). Improved class inclusion performance resulted when both subordinate classes contained typical exemplars than when either contained atypical exemplars. For the purposes of the present study, then, it was concluded that manipulation of class content was a fourth general type of task feature affecting class inclusion performance. It was hypothesised that such performance would be significantly affected by the salience of the superordinate class label relative to the salience of the labels of its subordinate classes.

METHOD

Subjects

The participants were 128 boys and girls between the ages of six and eight years ($\bar{X} = 7.0$) who were enrolled in one of two summer recreation programmes for youth in a metropolitan area. They were from predominantly middle-class families of various ethnic origins.

Materials

There were nine sets of stimuli. Each set consisted of five 4" x 4" line drawings of exemplars of a particular superordinate class. Three cards in each set showed identical drawings of an exemplar of one subordinate class and the other two cards showed identical drawings of an exemplar of another subordinate class. (See Figure 1 for an example set.)

Based partly on the work of Brandt (1980), four of the sets of drawings represented superordinate classes with labels of relatively low salience (animals, clothes, furniture, tools); four sets represented superordinate classes with labels of relatively high salience (birds, bugs, fish, and flowers); and the final set (fruit) was constructed specifically for use in the extraneous superordinate class conditions. Each set of five cards also contained a distinctive pictorial feature which was common to that entire superordinate class (e.g. all the flowers were in *vases*).

A listing of the nine sets of stimuli, the larger and smaller subordinate classes, and the pictorial cue common to each superordinate class is given in Table 1.

Table 1
Description of Stimulus Sets

Superordinate Class Label	Larger and Smaller Subordinate Classes	Common Superordinate Cue
High Salience		
birds	eagles and parrots	'on branches'
bugs	bees and butterflies	'by the flower'
flowers	roses and sunflowers	'in vases'
fish	sharks and whales	'in the water'
Low Salience		
animals	dogs and cats	'eating'
clothes	shirts and pants	'with stripes'
furniture	chairs and tables	'on the rug'
tools	hammers and saws	'in boxes'
Extraneous Class		
fruit	apples and oranges	

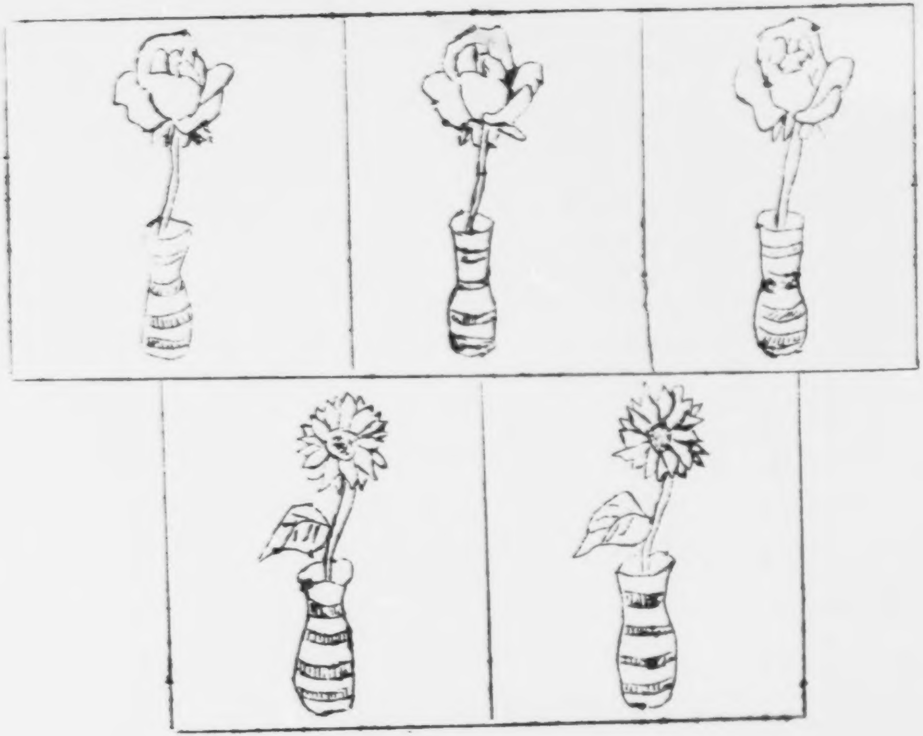

Figure 1: Example Stimulus Set

Procedure

All testing was done individually at the youth centres by one of the two experimenters. Using two rows of poker chips, one red and one white, all children were first screened for their ability to count and understand the terms 'more' and 'less'. Eight children were then randomly assigned to each of the sixteen conditions created by systematically varying the four factors mentioned above in 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 experimental design. Thus the experimental conditions were defined by: (1) whether or not reference was made to the common superordinate cue in the class inclusion question (2) whether or not the entire superordinate class was emphasised by preceding it with 'all of the ...' in the class inclusion question (3) whether or not an extraneous superordinate class was included in the stimulus array; and (4) whether the superordinate classes had relatively high or relatively low label salience.

In each of the eight experimental conditions with only a single superordinate class in the stimulus array, the child was presented with the five line drawings of each set linearly arranged along two rows, the three identical drawings from the smaller subordinate class (as in Figure 1). The child was then asked the following questions:

(1) 'What do we call these?' (pointing to the subordinate class members, separately for each subordinate class);
(2) 'What do we call *all* of these together?' (pointing to all of the members of the superordinate class);
(3) 'Are there more (label of larger subordinate class) or more (label of the superordinate class)?'

The exact format of the third question, the question of class inclusion, was determined by the experimental condition. Using the stimuli of Figure 1 as an example, the four possible question formats were:

(1) 'Are there more roses or more flowers'? (no reference to the common superordinate cue and no inclusive verbal emphasis);
(2) 'Are there more roses or more flowers in vases?' (reference to the common superordinate cue only);
(3) 'Are there more roses or more of all the flowers?' (inclusive verbal emphasis only);
(4) 'Are there more roses or more of all the flowers in vases?' (reference to the common superordinate cue and inclusive verbal emphasis).

In each of the eight experimental conditions that included an extraneous superordinate class ('fruit') in the stimulus array, the child was presented with five exemplars of the extraneous class (three identical drawings of an apple and two identical drawings of an orange), arranged linearly along two rows and above the exemplars of the target superordinate class. In these conditions, the child was asked the following questions:

(1) 'What do we call these?' (pointing to the subordinate class members, separately for each subordinate class in the extraneous superordinate class);

(2) 'What do we call *all* of these together?' (pointing to all of the members of the extraneous superordinate class);

(3) 'What do we call these?' (pointing to the subordinate class members, separately for each subordinate class in the target superordinate class);

(4) 'What do we call *all* of these together?' (pointing to all of the members of the target superordinate class);

(5) 'Are there more (label of the larger subordinate class in the target superordinate class) or more fruits?'

(6) 'Are there more (label of the larger subordinate class in the target superordinate class) or more (label of the target superordinate class)?'

Again, the exact format of the final question, that of class inclusion, depended upon the experimental condition.

To control for possible effects of presentation order, the four different stimuli sets in both the high and the low label salience conditions were presented in four different random sequences. Since four stimuli sets were presented in each experimental condition, the maximum score for a child was four.

RESULTS

Preliminary analyses revealed no significant differences in total class inclusion score between children at the two sample sites, between children tested by the two experimenters, or between boys and girls. Consequently, the data were pooled across sample sites, experimenters, and sex for *all* further analyses.

A four-way fixed ANOVA indicated that reference to the common superordinate cue was of borderline significance in producing higher class inclusion scores, $F(1, 112) = 3.37$, $P < .07$. A significant interaction was found between reference to the common cue and inclusive verbal emphasis, $F(1, 112) = 9.35$, $P < .01$. Using Turkey's multiple comparison procedure, it was found that children given reference to the common cue or given inclusive verbal emphasis did significantly better than children who were given neither. An interaction of borderline significance was also found between references to the common cue and salience of superordinate class label, $F(1, 112) = 3.72$, $P < 0.6$. Turkey's test indicated that, among children working with superordinate classes with low label salience, reference to the common superordinate cue led to significantly higher performance. No other effects were statistically significant.

The failure to clearly replicate any of the four general effects in the present study must be considered in light of its design. Since 11 of the 16 experimental groups included more than one task manipulation, a clearer understanding might result from an analysis of the experimental groups receiving no or only one manipulation. The performance of children who received only reference to the common cue ($\bar{X} = 3.25$) or inclusive verbal emphasis ($\bar{X} = 2.38$) was much higher than that of children who received only the stimuli with relatively salient superordinate labels ($\bar{X} = 1.13$), Stimuli involving an extraneous superordinate class ($\bar{X} = 1.00$), or stimuli involving none of the four task manipulations ($\bar{X} = 1.00$). This difference between the former two groups ($\bar{X} = 2.82$; $s = 1.76$) and the latter three groups ($\bar{X} = 1.04$; $s = 1.76$) was statistically significant, $t(38) = 3.13$, $P < .01$.

In addition to the above analyses, an additional sample of 40 children of the same age range drawn from one of the youth centres to test more fully the effects of superordinate label salience. Though the children given superordinate classes with high label salience performed somewhat higher than those given classes with low label salience, this difference failed to reach statistical significance, $t(38) = 1.38$, $.05 < P < .10$, one-tailed test. Finally, the responses of the original sample of 128 children were combined and analysed in order to see if there were significant differences in class inclusion performance between specific stimulus sets. Percentage of correct responses made to each stimulus set of high and low label salience is indicated in Table 2.

Table 2
Percentage of Correct Class Inclusion Responses for Each Superordinate Class

Superordinate Class Label	Salience	Percentage
flowers	high	65
fish	high	63
bugs	high	61
birds	high	60
tools	low	55
clothes	low	55
furniture	low	53
animals	low	51

Note. N = 168.

All stimulus sets having high salience superordinate labels were associated with higher performance than any low salience stimulus set. The highest percentage of correct responses was made to the 'flowers' class (65%) and the lowest to the 'animals' class (51%). This difference in percentages was statistically significant, $z = 1.82$, $P < .04$, one-tailed test.

DISCUSSION

In a sense, this study could be seen as an attempt to maximise the child's demonstration of class inclusion performance. By combining task factors which previously had been shown to be most facilitative of performance, it was anticipated that *additive* interactive effects would be found. Clearly, this was not the case. Both of the significant two-way interactions were attributable to the lower performance of children receiving *neither* task manipulation. Children receiving both manipulations performed no better than children receiving only one of them. This lack of additive effect is in direct contrast to McGarrigle's *et al.* (1978) suggestion that *both* linguistic and perceptual cues are necessary to facilitate class inclusion performance.

Results comparing the relative effectiveness of single task manipulations were more congruent with expectations. As in previous research, referencing a common superordinate cue or adding an inclusive verbal cue in the class inclusion question were effective task manipulations. Although salience of superordinate class label and inclusion of an extraneous superordinate class had little or no effect on class inclusion scores, methodological considerations leave room for doubt about the effectiveness of these two manipulations. For example, to insure that children had clear referents for the classes mentioned in the inclusion question, subordinate classes were selected on the basis of what the children could easily identify. As a result, the selected subordinate classes may have had much more salient labels than more representative subordinate classes of the same superordinate class. If so, any effect due to differences in the relative salience of the label of their superordinate class may have inadvertently been balanced out. Consider the choice of 'bees' and 'butterflies' as subordinate classes of the superordinate class 'bugs'. Unlike most other insects, bees are far more likely to be identified by their subordinate label ('bees') than by the label 'bugs'.

With respect to the extraneous class conditions, the procedure of the present study included only one comparison question across superordinate classes, a comparison of the larger subordinate class of the target superordinate class with the entire extraneous superordinate class. Trabasso *et al.* (1978), asked all fifteen possible questions comparing the two superordinate and four subordinate classes. It may be that the greater number and variety of questions in the latter procedure makes the intent of the critical class inclusion question clearer to the child.

Perhaps it is time to take a more general view of class inclusion research to date. Two general conclusions seem to stand out. First, task factors which are logically unrelated to class inclusion competence clearly can prevent successful demonstration of that competence. This conclusion has validity well beyond the area of class inclusion. For example, Carmi (1980) argued that seemingly extraneous task factors and other contextual cues have a strong influence on the child's responses generally. Likewise, Gelman (1978) has carefully documented inaccuracies that result from estimating the competence of young children from their performance on Piagetian tasks. Though this point is not new, researchers in some areas (e.g. Hirata, 1982 in the area of spatial perspective-taking) are beginning to summarise the demand characteristics of the tasks they use to assess competence. Though the degree to which specific contextual and procedural task manipulations are differentially important for specific types of performance tasks (e.g. cognitive, perceptual, or social) is not clear at the present time, there may be enough commonality in tasks typically used to assess young children's competence to attempt the development of a taxonomy of manipulative contextual cues operative in such tasks. This might allow more accurate assessment of underlying competence while adding to our knowledge of how children actually represent and process demands of the environment. Types of perceptual grouping within the task factors appear to have generality across many measurement situations.

One additional point needs to be made before leaving the issue of competence. While it is much more likely that one will make the error of not inferring competence when it is in fact present, it is of course possible to infer competence when it not there. When common perceptual cues are made extremely strong as in the common cue conditions of the present study, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that children are counting and comparing the larger subordinate class and the common superordinate cue itself (e.g. counting and comparing the number of roses with the number of *vases*). Thus the child might have given a correct answer on the basis of n exclusive-class comparison.

The second general conclusion to be drawn from class inclusion research to date is that as important as contextual cues are, there are real limits to the amount of variation in performance that can be explained using only such logically unrelated task factors. Clearly, *some* logical competence must also be involved. The intent of much of the research in this area seems to have been to show that Piaget seriously underestimated children's class inclusion skills. However, that point has been made repeatedly and well, and further research with this focus is likely to yield diminishing returns. Because of the central place they hold in the child's developing constellation of classification abilities, the understanding of class inclusion skills is important as an end in itself. Consequently, rather than simply assessing whether a child does or does not possess class inclusion abilities, future research might systematically examine specific processes underlying successful class inclusion performance.

Elaborating and integrating the component processes identified by Trabasso *et al.* (1978) might be a useful starting place. For example, many studies have shown the importance of emphasising the superordinate class, often by manipulating the child's attention to particular features of the perceptual display. It might be useful to re-evaluate the research in light of two of the component processes identified by Trabasso *et al.* which are representing the physical display and finding a reference for the superordinate class. One possible line of research suggested by this reconceptualisation is investigation of the role of selective attention on the accurate representation of the perceptual display. For example, the conditions under which the superordinate-subordinate relationship is accurately encoded might be investigated by systematically varying the perceptual distinctiveness of the larger and smaller subordinate classes. Or in a training task, specific perceptual cues emphasising the superordinate class could gradually be removed from or added to the stimulus array and the corresponding effect on class inclusion performance determined. It would also be interesting to relate differences between children in the degree to which they are able to apply the concept of class inclusion to a range of situations and the encoding of particular kinds of perceptual or verbal cues.

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The Application of the Culture-Fair Tests as Measures of the General Mental Ability of Thai Adolescents**

Chumporn Yongkittikul

There has been an increasing demand in Thailand for the assessment of human general intelligence. There is, therefore, the need to search for an appropriate instrument to measure this ability. However, Thai psychologists are still using intelligence tests developed by psychologists in the West for Western subjects. Although some adaptations have been carried out, most of the normative studies are directed towards specific groups such as emotionally disturbed persons and students in specific educational institutions or regions.

Intelligences tests which, purportedly are culture-fair, are popular in Thailand. The purpose of this study is to investigate the potentials of three of these culture-fair intelligence tests as measures of general mental ability of Thai adolescents. The intelligence tests selected are Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices (SPM), Cattell's Culture Fair Intelligence Scale 3, Form B (CFIT) and Dominoes 48 Tests (D48). The four major specific goals of this study are to:

(1) investigate the development properties of the tests;
(2) examine item statistics of the tests;
(3) assess the reliability and validity of the tests; and
(4) establish norms of the test scores for Thai adolescents.

The subjects consists of 3,569 students of both sexes from 16 government and private schools in the Northern, Southern and Northeastern provinces and the Central Region. Their ages range from 12 to 18 years and the respondents are in grades 7 to 12.

The instructions of the tests were translated into Thai by the author. The SPM and D48 test were administered to all the subjects in their regular classrooms by 10 graduate students in psychology who have been trained for the tasks. CFIT is given to some subjects.

Difficulty indexes are in the direction predicted, thus giving evidences of the validity of the tests. Concurrent validity is estimated by calculating correlation coefficients among these three tests. The medians were .61, .65 and .60 for the SPM, CFIT and D48 tests respectively, thereby showing a certain degree of relatedness between them.

Using KR-20 to establish the reliabilities of these tests, the reliability coefficients of SPM cluster around the .90's; for CFIT, the reliabilities range from .63 to .78; and D48 test has reliabilities ranging from .89 to .91. It is concluded that these tests have internal consistencies.

The means of the test scores show that they increase with increasing age levels: the average scores of the SPM increase from 13 to 16 years while those of CFIT and D48 test increase from ages 13 to 15 years.

The correlation between each intelligence test and grade-point-average (academic achievement in Thai language, English, Mathematics and Social Studies at the end of the academic year) is computed for each age level. The correlations vary markedly, ranging from .06 to .70. The findings suggest that these tests are not effective predictors of academic achievement.

Comparisons of the data with British and American norms indicate that Thai adolescents are above the British norms for the SPM at the corresponding age levels except for the 13 year olds; norms of the Thai adolescents are also above the American norms for CFIT, Scale B. However, it must be noted that the British and American norms were established for adolescents of 15 years ago.

SYMPOSIUM I C : Child-Rearing Practices

CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor Rahimah Haji Ahmad*
RAPPORTEUR	*Miss Ting Si Sing*

A Study of Child-Rearing Practices, Physical Development and School Readiness in Preschool Children**

Wanpen Phisalaphong

The first six years pay a predominant role in the child's future. Consequently, there is a need to promote better child-rearing practices. It has become increasingly clear to the Thai government that crucial health problems of preschool children are related to child-rearing practices. Therefore, all governmental organisations are encouraged to improve the quality of human resources through appropriate child-rearing practices.

One of the areas which researches need to examine is the practicability of the methods and criteria of child-rearing practices. There is also the need to investigate what are the other factors besides child-rearing practices that affect the child's pattern of growth and development.

This study is part of a longitudinal study on, 'Relationships among child-rearing practices, physical and psychological development'. The purpose of this study is to compare the child-rearing practices, physical development and school readiness of preschool children from low and high socio-economic groups.

Information about family background and child-rearing practices were collected from the parents of 310 children who applied for enrolment in Srinakharinwirot Primary Laboratory School by means of interviews and questionnaires.

Analysis of the data reveals the following significant findings:

(1) The total and moral development of the child were emphasised when he/she came from a family whose father had a higher level of education.

(2) Child-rearing practices and school readiness varied according to the different educational levels of parents.

(3) Children whose mothers had a higher level of education are more personal-social responsive only if both parents take a major role in child care.

(4) For the first and second born, their social-emotional development was given more emphasis than school readiness. For the third and subsequent children, both aspects receive equal treatment.

(5) No malnutrition was discerned.

(6) Generally, only fathers with higher level of education took an active part in preparing children academically and introduce them to the outside world.

From the findings, it was concluded that parents from low socio-economic status should be informed of the importance of the father's role in child development. Since the third and subsequent children receive less parental attention, then the two-children family policy should be encouraged.

Achievement Motivation, Parents' Educational Level and Child-Rearing Practices in Four Occupational Groups in Indonesia*

Siti Rahayu Haditono

INTRODUCTION

Achievement motivation is assumed to be one of the driving forces for the development of a nation and considered as a 'mental virus' which causes individuals to be competitive, hard working, having more persistence (McClelland, 1966). Many investigations concerning achievement motivation have been carried out in Western countries but very few studies have been initiated in Indonesia. Since the development of achievement motivation has been assumed to be partly culturally determined and since Indonesia has a culture different from that of Western societies, the need to conduct an investigation on the subject in Indonesia is felt.

It has been found in previous investigations that the development of achievement motivation is much influenced by the kind of child-rearing practices; hence an important aspect of this investigation is the relationship between the kind of child-rearing practices and the child's achievement motivation.

In this regard, many studies have brought to light that the group's frame of reference determines a great deal the kind of child-rearing practices adopted by its members. Besides, it has also been found in many investigations that the kind of child-rearing practices is influenced by the parents' educational level. It is for this reason that the parents' educational

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level and the parents' occupational group membership have also been investigated regarding their involvement in the development of achievement motivation.

As regards to the above mentioned considerations, the nature of this investigation is to test the hypothesis that differences in achievement motivation among children of 10–15 years of age can be explained in terms of differences in their parents' child-rearing practices which are attributable to the parents' educational level and/or occupational group membership.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Achievement Motivation

The concept of achievement motivation in terms of competing with a standard of excellence is adopted from the theory of Heckhausen (1968, 1973, 1977, 1978) which is based on the cognitive theory of motivation. In achievement related performance, the role of cognition has been found to have great influence on self-reinforcement. For instance, self-evaluation after a performance outcome gives positive or negative self-reinforcement for future achievement behaviour.

Three main variables are considered for measuring achievement motivation which are namely:

(1) the task-related standard of excellence which refers to the excellence in the accomplishment of a task;
(2) self-related standard of excellence which refers to the comparison of one's own previous achievement; and
(3) other related standard of excellence which refers to the comparison with others' achievement e.g. in competition.

These three standards of excellence cover aspects of attitudes which are considered indicators of achievement motivation. These indicators are:

(1) success orientation and self-confidence;
(2) goal-directed and future-oriented attitude;
(3) preference of moderate difficulty;
(4) does not like to waste time;
(5) persistence; and
(6) achievement motivation higher than affiliation motivation.

One aspect which is most applicable to Western societies to indicate achievement motivated behaviour but which is not considered relevant to the Indonesian situation as indication of achievement motivated behaviour is preference for postponed gratification and delay because the socio-economic and cultural situation of a country determines the people's attitude concerning matters of delayed gratification. A high level of social and economic security in a country heightens the probability for prefering delayed rewards and gratifications. Therefore, the preference for

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postponed gratification is not entirely determined by motive's specific characteristics but also by the country's social and economic situation. Besides, Gallimore *et al* (1974) in their study on Hawaiian-Americans and Japanese-Americans have found that many studies about postponed gratification can be better interpreted in relation with cultural values which then results in that behaviour obtaining meaning quite different from before. Based on this consideration, preference for postponed gratification is not included in the construction of the achievement motivation instruments.

The instruments for achievement motivation focus on the three standards of excellence mentioned earlier. Other aspects of achievement motivated behaviour are also included.

According to some findings (Heckhausen, 1968), it is not possible to predict adult motivation earlier than the age of ten years but achievement motivation reached at this age seems to be predictive of adult achievement motivation. It is for this reason that children of 10 to 15 years of age are taken as subjects of the investigation.

Child-Rearing Practices

For the development of achievement motivation, the child has to get the opportunity to experience situations in which he can cope with standards of excellence so that he can feel his own competence. In such competing situations along with cognitive maturing, the child can actualise his potential motivation.

To obtain this cognitive maturity and promote the development of achievement motivation, child-rearing plays a pivotal role. The concept of child-rearing practices used in this investigation is based on Trudewind's model of child-rearing and home environment which are found to have made much contribution to the development of the child's achievement motivation (Trudewind, 1975). Trudewind has pointed out that for the development of the achievement motive, it is necessary to construct an environment which possesses enough achievement thematic stimulation quality. Besides achievement motivation, development depends on the educational achievement of the parents as well. The development of the child's achievement motivation thus depends on the interaction of the environmental stimulation quality and parental educational achievement. Child rearing seems to be influenced by cultural factors. So it also may be assumed that the kind of child-rearing in Indonesia does not escape from cultural influences and specific Indonesian mode of life.

However, empirical data about child rearing and child education which are really practised in Indonesia are few. Other difficulties include describing the characteristics of the Indonesian child-rearing practices as it is nearly impossible to have full information about the qualities of child-rearing practices in Indonesia owing to the fact that the numerous ethnic groups living on different islands of Indonesia contribute much to the existence of various kinds of child-rearing practices. It is for this reason that the writer prefers to speak about Javanese child-rearing practices rather than those of Indonesians. Some characteristics of the Javanese mode of life are indicated below:

The Javanese Mode of Life

From Mulder's study (Mulder, 1977) and from the writer's own observations, the conclusion that may be drawn is that the Javanese view of life is a mixture of the Islamic religion and original Javanese viewpoints (Javanism). The Javanism view of life perceives life as being related to the cosmic nature; life on earth is not to be separated from external life after death. Therefore, life is perceived as something like a religious experience.

The basis of morality is to maintain the balance of life or the balance of society. This balance of society includes the acknowledgment of a status hierarchy. People of different social or occupational status levels have different obligations and responsibilities. So the status hierarchy in the society is acknowledged. Therefore, the acceptance of authority is something natural and self-evident.

It is also worthwhile to know that all these 'job' stratifications relate to each other and build up a certain structure on the basis of *kekeluargaan*, meaning that people have to perform *gotong-royong* which is mutual help and mutual exchange of service.

Mulder's investigation also indicates that education stresses on the shaping of a social personality rather than that of some one who is independent. This aim is supported by the social environment of the child. The child's first experience in life is a warm and exclusive human environment. He is helped every time he needs help. The small child is protected from having difficulties. His life is sweet and easy. Striving for achievement is not stimulated (Mulder, 1977).

Another study about Javanese personality is carried out by De Jong (1976). De Jong mentions the existence of *pangestu*, a kind of mystic which according to him is professed a great deal by the Javanese people. Although the writer does not see that most of the Javanese are members of pangestu, many principles and life attitudes suggested by the mystical stream are real convictions of most of the Javanese people and often considered as things to be taught by parents to their children.

Those principles are *rila*, *narima* and *sabar*. Rila means willingness in offering his possessions; narima means acceptance of whatever lot will come to him/her and sabar means having tolerance. Here, it is to be added that narima does not mean that a man should subdue himself to his fate and does not do anything about it; on the contrary, he has to try to reach what he is aiming at but the result of his endeavours will entirely depend on God's will. The Javanese generally believes that whatever the decision of God, it is the best for him. This attitude results in rather a fatalistic view of life.

Another fact which influences the Javanese life attitude is the existence of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the Sultanate of Surakarta (Solo). These two principalities which represented the monarchic system in earlier times still put their stamp on the present Javanese's attitude. The acceptance of authority by the lower class people as mentioned in Mulder's (1977) writing and the expectation of the high officials to be respected by people of the lower job stratification are manifestations of the still existing monarchic and feudalistic attitudes. Lubis (1978) mentions that, among the characteristics of the Indonesian people, the feudalistic view is firmly rooted in the people's life.

From these background information about the Javanese personality, the conclusion may be drawn that:

(1) The Javanese is affected by a mystical view of life which brings about a certain religious life attitude aiming to conform to and relying on the will of God. This further results in a somewhat fatalistic view of life expressed in the three keywords of narima, rila and sabar.

(2) The Javanese has a feudalistic attitude which results in an authoritarian attitude of the people in high positions, and the voluntary acceptance of authority by those of low status.

(3) The Javanese has a group-oriented attitude, the gotong-royong (mutual help) is a pronounced way of life among them.

These three qualities of the Javanese people contribute a great deal to the child-rearing practices.

Authoritarian Attitude of Parents

Tradition in Java shows that children must respect their parents. The traditional belief is that when a child behaves disrespectfully to his parent(s), the child will be condemned and bad luck will befall him. He has also been commanded by the Islamic religion, professed by most of the people in Indonesia, to respect God, our parents and teachers. The cultural background as mentioned above is the acknowledgment of authority and of the different status division which makes the acceptance of parental authority on the part of the child easier.

In child rearing, this authoritarian attitude on the part of the parents, as set forth above, is more control and obedience is valued as a virtue. The language used is usually low Javanese on the part of the parents and high Javanese on the part of the children, manifesting the status division of parents and children and the acceptance of parents as authorities on the part of the children.

Fatalistic Attitude of Parents

Javanism, the mystic, and Islam dictates that there is a supernatural power which regulates all things in the world. This easily leads to a view of life as unpredictable and dependent on luck and fate. People believe that fate and luck is predestined and when asked why several people obtain success while others fail, they will state that bad luck is predestined to those who fail and good luck to those who succeed. This conviction is gradually eroded away with the improvement of education among the lower classes but there is still a great number of people who entertain such a belief. In the education of their children, it is assumed that the fatalistic outlook results in parents not making the demands that their children put much efforts in reaching their goals.

Gotong-royong

The gotong-royong principle of our nation means that mutual help among people is obligatory. People should help each other for the furtherance of the country's social welfare. This gotong-royong principle reflects itself strongly in the *desa* or rural areas.

Children are taught to help their brothers and sisters when needed. It is a common thing to share properties with each other. When children have grown into adults, it is a matter of course that the prosperous child helps his/her brothers and sisters because they are expected by the social norms to behave in this manner.

Aspects of Child-Rearing Practices Asked in the Questionnaire

Three principles of Trudewind's model of child rearing are adopted:

(1) Stimulation dimension;
(2) Social contacts; and
(3) Achievement pressure dimension covering the respective subaspects.

Besides these three aspects of child rearing which originates from the specific Javanese culture, others included are:

(4) Parents' non-authoritarian attitude;
(5) Parents' non-fatalistic view of life; and
(6) Parents' efforts to make their children concerned for others.

Stimulation Dimension

The stimulation dimension is divided into:

Width of the experience horizon

It consists of the offering of freedom in behaviour and the variability of life situations. Freedom of behaviour includes either the level of restriction or the level of freedom which parents allow in the child's activities both inside and outside the home environment. Variability in life situations in this investigation means the frequency and degree of change of daily life routines through sightseeing, trips, school excursions, watching performance, etc..

Motivation by home location and equipment

This includes whether the house is situated in a remote or in an industrial area or in a nearby school building. It also relates to indoor equipment like pictures of national heroes on the wall, availability of books, newspapers, radio and television, keeping of animals such as cats, dogs, chicken or sheep, provision of opportunities for hobbies and accomplishment of daily duties.

Helping and promoting achievements

This aspect comprises school achievements as well as achievements and skills in general. It consists of the intensity of help which the child obtains from his parents in promoting his skills and achievements.

Social Contacts

Social contacts cover contacts with friends, neighbours, relatives and, particularly, parents. These may act as stimulation but also as achievement pressure at the same time when, for instance, a child in his play group receives pressure from his playmates to perform well in efforts to win for the sake of his group.

The social contacts dimension is further differentiated into (1) general social contacts and (2) parent-child interaction. General social contacts include the number of friends and the contacts the child has with them through participation in one or other activities. Parent-child interaction relates to the question of how much time the parents engage themselves with the child and the number of activities the child performs together with the parent(s).

Achievement Pressure Dimension

This dimension is differentiated into:

Parents' stress on the child's achievement

This variable includes the parents' level of aspiration, their pressure on the child to attend school regularly and do well at home and at school.

Parents' concern with the child's school and his achievements

This variable consists of parents' knowledge of matters concerning the school, the child and his achievements. For example, having knowledge of the existence of parents-teachers association in school and putting in efforts to obtain personal information about their child's improvement at school.

Parents' efforts to promote the child's achievements

This deals with efforts parents put in to help the child in his achievements, such as by giving reward or punishment according to the child's conduct and scheduling his time-table.

Educational Attainment of Parents

Regarding parents' level of education, it is in the writer's opinion that education, namely formal education, is one of the important contributors to the change in the culture frame of reference. It is in this connection that the number of years of school education a person experiences does have great effect on her or his behaviour and so on her or his child-rearing practices. In Indonesia, a higher level of education or 'more years of education' differentiates a person from another with a lower level of education or 'fewer years of education'. Differences in the level of education of the parents are supposed to create different parental attitudes towards their children's achievement strivings.

It has been assumed that different levels of education would be found among the four occupational groups since occupational group membership depends partly on a person's level of education.

Four Occupational Groups and Their Specific Culture

The four occupational groups are:

(1) Farmers
(2) Traders
(3) Civil servants
(4) Armed forces

Farmers

Under this category are primarily placed those who cultivate their own land, even though they may not personally till it. It also comprises those who cultivate land which they rent from the landowner or share the yield in a certain ratio with him.

Farmers cover almost the whole village community. Therefore, some description about village people is presented. According to Koentjaraningrat (1964), the village community has been generally studied. Many studies have found the existence of conflicts, controversies and competitions which often involve problems concerning land status and marriage. The village community is characterised not only by an atmosphere of peace and relaxation but also by hard work with insufficient modern facilities.

Another characteristic mentioned by Koentjaraningrat is the attitude of mutual help or gotong-royong in various social activities such as the building of a dam or when a neighbour gives a wedding party for his daughter's marriage. According to Sartono (1978), social exchange which includes exchange of power is felt to be obligatory among the village people.

As regards the farmer's attitude, it may be said that one of their pronounced characteristics is their attachment to their land which remains an important source of living. This is manifested in their everyday behaviour – all their concern is directed towards its welfare. The farmers live together, being linked by mutual concern. They have to live together and carry out the job of cultivating their land together. For example, in the management of irrigation or in overcoming pests that attack the crops, a certain solidarity and gotong-royong are inevitable.

With respect to the factors mentioned above, the farmers, attitudes and views of life may be considered as regular and static. Therefore, they are less dynamic due to their attachment to their land.

Traders

This group includes small stallkeepers and those who are engaged in purchasing materials or in marketing finished products of the various kinds of food which they themselves have prepared for sale. In this investigation, the label used is 'small traders'. This group of small traders have something in common with the farmers in that many of them live in the village so that many characteristics are expected to be the same. However, an important difference is found between farmers and small traders. Their general concern is not directed towards the land but towards capital and things connected with assets and liability. This fact makes the group of traders static in nature and not dependent on regular seasons.

Traders know about supply and demand; they understand the operation of competition to obtain the highest possible profit. They travel around, are more mobile and have more opportunities to get in touch with many income depends on the profit they obtain from their trading. Therefore, kinds of people. Traders have no regular income to depend on. Their this group is frequently having to take risks. This aspect of trading is one of the components of achievement motivation. The mobile character of the traders and their risk-taking behaviour are likely to affect their views of life and their child-rearing practices.

Civil Servants

This category comprises those who are employed by the state and obtain regular salaries. It does not include the armed forces for the following reasons:

(a) Members of the armed forces differ from the civil servants as regards their tasks and their salary rules, and

(b) Members of the armed forces are assumed to have their own specific culture which differs from that of the civil servants.

Civil servants are supposed to be different from farmers and traders in that civil servants have achieved a level of schooling which meets the requirements of the civil service. Civil servants form a group of their own in the society due to certain considerations and facilities given to them by the government. They receive their salaries each month. So compared to traders and farmers, they are ensured of getting a fixed income in the form of cash every month. They also get additional allowances, for instance, in the form of rice. These facilities contribute a great deal to their sense of security although some of them receive very small earnings. However they have something to depend on every month.

The above factor gives rise to certain attitude towards the civil servants by others especially those in the villages. Civil servants have an honourable status and many people eagerly want to become civil servants. On the part of the civil servants themselves, they are proud to be in the service of the government as they have the feeling of being the elite in the community. Most of the civil servants in the villages are inclined to have their children reach the level they themselves have already attained.

In conclusion, civil servants differ from the other occupational groups in that they have a higher level of school education. This means that civil servants are expected to have a certain style of child rearing which might contribute more to the child's achievement motivation development. Secondly, civil servants living in the village like to have their children enjoy the same honourable status later on in life. Hence they stimulate their children in matters of education and achievement. The third characteristic is the relatively lower level of risk-taking behaviour in financial matters as compared with the traders. These three characteristics may be assumed to have a certain bearing on their child-rearing practices which contribute to the development of the child's achievement motivation.

Armed Forces

By armed forces is meant all those who are working in the army, air-force, navy and police. A pronounced aspect that is assumed to be found among the group of armed forces is the stronger discipline that this group has experienced in their training and jobs.

As Kartakusuma (1971) has put forward, the armed force has its own 'personality' which is related with its principal duty and task. Armed forces is an organisation which is preoccupied with the security or safety of the country, based on their job hierarchy. Therefore, the duty of security is the soul of the armed forces and makes up a main element in the *Sumpah Prajurit* (Armed Forces Oath). A member of the armed forces is not allowed to talk with others about matters concerning his job. There is a sharp division of responsibility and accountability.

Kartakusuma further states that armed forces are inclined to accept empirical facts. They base their orientation more on concrete national experiences rather than on normative or theoretical concepts whose applicability are still doubted. They also have a strong tendency towards pragamatism. Strong discipline among the armed forces tends to result n a more authoritarian attitide on the part of the parents towards their children. This then results in severe child-rearing practices.

HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY

The validity of the instruments has been ascertained by interactive cluster-analysis (Ostade, 1969). The KR 20 is used as an estimate of reliability and the level of significance is 5%.

Based on the theoretical and empirical consideration mentioned earlier, the following hypotheses can be drawn:

Hypothesis1: There is a positive correlation between the parents' child-rearing practices and the child's achievement motivation.

Hypothesis 2: There is a positive correlation between the parents' educational level and their child-rearing practices.

Hypothesis 3: There is a difference in the parents' educational level among the occupational groups.

Hypothesis 4: There is a difference in the child-rearing practices among the occupational groups.

Hypothesis 5: There is a difference in the child's achievement motivation among the occupational groups.

Variables

Achievement Motivation

Standards of achievement motivation which are derived from Heckhausen's theory (Heckhausen, 1968) become objects of measurement for the achievement motivation. They are:

(1) task related standard of excellence;
(2) self related standard of excellence; and
(3) other related standard of excellence.

Each of the three standards of excellence comprises characteristics of high and low achievement motivation. What will be measured is the degree to which a child uses task or self or other related standards of excellence. A high degree is assumed to indicate high achievement motivation while a low degree indicates low achievement motivation.

Child-Rearing Practices

The aspects involved are based on Trudewind's theory with certain revisions based on the local situation. These are:

(1) stimulation dimension;
(2) social contacts dimension;
(3) achievement pressure dimension;
(4) parents' non-authoritarian attitude;
(5) parents' non-fatalistic view; and
(6) parents' efforts to make their children concerned for others.

Occupational Groups

Four main occupational groups which are found in Indonesia will be involved in the investigation. They are:

(1) Farmers
(2) Traders

(3) Civil servants
(4) Armed forces

Level of Education

The level of education is measured according to the years of education experienced. We have a range of 0–18 years because the educational level ranges from non-education, primary school, junior high school, senior high school to the university. Altogether, it takes a duration of 18 years.

Methods of Measurement

Achievement Motivation

The achievement motivation is measured by a questionnaire type of instrument. Two kinds of measurement have been constructed i.e. the picture-test and the story-test.

Picture test

The picture test is a group test consisting of 45 items. On top of each page is a picture representing a child or children of primary school age in a certain location such as school, home, or outside school and home. The pictures are more or less related to the content of the items. This is to makes the items easier to understand. The pictures are also meant to create a high stimulus for the child to respond to the items.

Each picture has three statements underneath and each statement is followed by three alternative answers or completions of the statements. The respondents have to select one of the three alternatives. The picture test is therefore a multiple choice test.

The scoring of the responses is '1' for an achievement motivated response and '0' for the other 2 non-motivated responses. There are one 'positive' and two 'negative' responses.

Story test

The story test is a multiple choice test of 44 items. Each item starts with a short story about everyday life of children at school, home and outside school and home. The story test is intended to draw out the achievement motivation of the child through a semi-projective method. The stories of the test apply to other children and the subjects have to make their comments or opinions.

Each story is followed by three alternative answers or statements. The scoring system is '1' for an achievement motivated answer and '0' for a non-motivated answer. There is only one positive answer among the three alternatives. The groups of items have been mixed in the test.

Child-rearing Practices

Considering the great number of respondents, a questionnaire form of instrument is used. It is referred to as the child-rearing practices questionnaire. This questionnaire is composed of 66 items and consists of the six aspects of child-rearing practices. Having done the validity checks, the last aspect of child-rearing has to be dropped. i.e. parents' efforts to make their children concerned for others.

There are three alternative answers to each question. It differs from the test for achievement motivation in that the responses in the child-rearing practices questionnaire are ranked from 1 to 3. The answer which is considered most stimulating for the development of achievement motivation is scored 3, the least stimulating is scored 1, and the in-between is scored 2.

Father's Occupation and Parents' Level of Education

The father's occupational group is found in the school documents. But these data have to be checked with the reports found in the questionnaire. When differences occur, data from the questionnaire are used. The parents' educational level is taken from responses in the questionnaire.

Subjects

The unit of research is the family to whom the test is given. This unit consists of father, mother and the child. Both the father and the mother are tested for their child-rearing practices and the child for his achievement motivation.

The subjects for the achievement motivation tests are 4th, 5th, and 6th grade boys and girls, whose ages range from 10 to 15 years, from eight primary schools. They are selected according to their fathers' occupation. The sample consists of 486 children in which 241 are children of farmers, 47 are children of traders, 152 are children of civil servants and 46 are children of members of the armed forces. It has not been possible to obtain the same number of subjects for each of the four occupational groups. The number of subjects is the number available in the area of investigation. After the data was collected, the number dropped to 310.

The eight primary schools from which the children come are all located in Bantul which is a suburban in the Yogyakarta Special Region. The selection of Bantul as the location of investigation has been based on the consideration that the four occupational groups can be found in Bantul which is not the case with other areas.

Parents of the children investigated become subjects for the child-rearing practices questionnaire. Each child should have two corresponding parents to whom the questionnaires will be given. After the selection for the completeness of the pair of parents, the number of subjects for the child-rearing practices questionnaire is 284 pairs of parents.

ANALYSES AND RESULTS

The testing of the proposed hypotheses is carried out after the validity and reliability of the instruments have been established. All analyses have been carried out with KUNST (*Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen Statistieke Toepassingsprogramma's*).

The first hypothesis that there is a positive correlation between the parent's child-rearing practice and the child's achievement motivation measured with the picture-test is confirmed both among the group of fathers as well as among the group of mothers (Table 1). The child's achievement motivation measured with the story test does not show a significant correlation with the parents' child-rearing practices. Multiple correlation is used.

Table 1
Multiple Correlation between the Parent's Child-rearing Practices and the Child's Achievement Motivation

Variables Correlated with Child-rearing Practices	R	$P > .05$
Achievement motivation measured with the picture test	.32	sig.
Achievement motivation measured with the story test	.24	ns.

Notes. Sig = significant and N = 263.

Further analysis of the specfic aspects of child rearing shows that among the group of fathers, the correlation between achievement pressure and the child's achievement motivation is non-significant.

Among the group of mothers, a non-significant correlation is found between social contacts and the child's achievement motivation and the same result is found between the non-authoritarian attitude and the child's achievement motivation (Table 2).

Table 2
Correlation between the Five Aspects of Child-rearing Practices and the Child's Achievement Motivation

Variables Correlated With Achievement Motivation	Fathers	$P > .05^{+}$	Mothers	$P > .05^{+}$
Stimulation dimension	.19	sig.	.22	sig.
Social contact	.16	sig.	.09	ns.
Achievement pressure dimension	.06	ns.	.16	sig.
Non-authoritarian attitude	.12	sig.	.03	ns.
Non-fatalistic view	.16	sig.	.18	sig.

Note. N = 263. $p > .05$ and is one sided testing for Tables 2–6.

The second hypothesis regarding the relationship between the parents' educational level and their child-rearing practice correlation among the group of fathers as well as among the group of mothers (Table 3). Canonical correlation is used for this analysis.

Table 3
Canonical Correlation between Five Aspects of Child-rearing Practices and Parents' Level of Education

Variables Correlated	Canon r.	$p > .05$
Five aspects of child rearing practice and fathers' and mothers' educational level	.68	sig.

Significant positive correlations between the parents' educational level and their child-rearing practices are also found both for the fathers and mothers (Table 4). Multiple correlation is used for the analysis.

Table 4
Multiple Correlation between Fathers' and Mothers' Educational Level and Child-rearing Practices.

Variables Correlated With Child-rearing Practices	R	$P > .05$
Fathers' educational level	.75	sig.
Mothers' educational level	.75	sig.

Further analysis, however, shows that the correlations between non-fatalistic view and parents' educational level among the fathers and mothers are all insignificant. (Table 5).

Table 5
Correlation between Five Separate Aspects of Child-rearing Practice with Fathers' and Mothers' Educational Level

Aspect of Child Rearing	Fathers' Educational Level	$P > .05$	Mothers' Educational Level	$P > .05^+$
Stimulation dimension	.57	sig.	.51	sig.
Social contacts	.25	sig.	.21	sig.
Achievement pressure dimension	.30	sig.	.45	sig.
Non-authoritarian attitude	.37	sig.	.28	sig.
Non-fatalistic view	.07	ns.	.05	ns.

The third hypothesis, namely, that there is a significant difference in the parents' educational level among the occupational groups is confirmed (Tables 6 and 7). This hypothesis is tested with discriminant analysis. Also, Figures 1 and 2 show the mean scores of fathers' and mothers' educational levels for the four occupational groups.

Table 6
F-Test for the Level of Education of Fathers and Mothers Among the Four Occupational Groups

Parents	F	P > .05
Fathers	52.68	sig.
Mothers	24.87	sig.

N=263.

Table 7
Overview of Fathers' and Mothers' Educational Level in the Four Occupational Groups

Parents	Farmers (N=117)		Traders (N=26)		Civil Servants (N=107)		Armed Forces (N=13)	
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
Fathers	3.88	3.32	6.23	3.39	10.02	4.06	6.70	3.43
Mothers	3.07	3.45	5.23	2.97	7.32	4.14	7.23	4.71

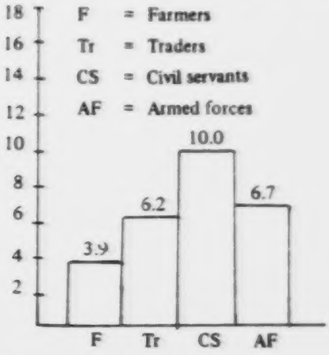


Figure 1.

Histogram Showing Mean Scores of Fathers' Educational Level (Years of Education) of Four Occupational Groups

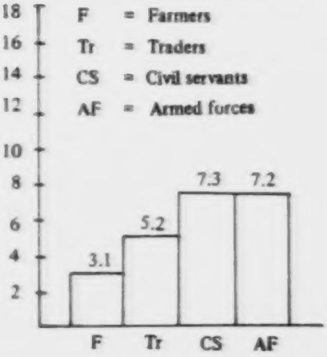


Figure 2.

Histogram Showing Mean Scores of Mothers' Educational Level (Years of Education) of Four Occupational Groups

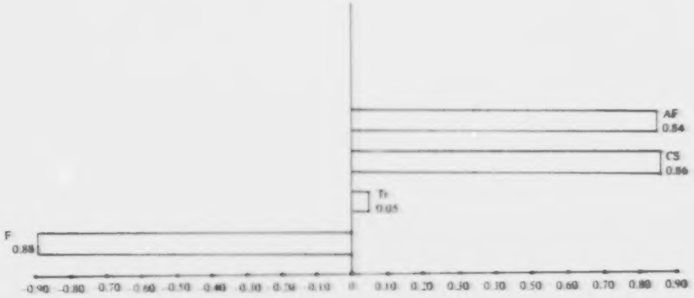
The fourth hypothesis which is derived from the assumption that occupational group and parents' educational level have contributed to child-rearing practice is also confirmed. There are significant differences in the parents' child-rearing practice among the occupational groups (Table 8). This hypothesis has been tested with discriminant analysis.

Table 8
F-Test for Five Separate Aspects of Child Rearing Among Fathers and Mothers of Four Occupational Groups

Variables	Father	P > .05	Mother	P > .05
Stimulation dimension	29.48	sig.	28.81	sig.
Social contacts	2.26	ns.	3.19	sig.
Achievement pressure dimension	9.50	sig.	10.47	sig.
Non-authoritarian attitude	19.18	sig.	14.06	sig.
Non-fatalistic view	3.81	sig.	2.47	ns.

Note. N=263.

An overview of parents' child-rearing practices can also be seen from the mean scores of each group on the first discriminant dimension (Figure 3).



Child-Rearing practice

Figure 3
Histogram Showing Mean Scores of Child-Rearing Practices in Four-Occupational Groups.

Note. F=farmers, Tr=traders, Cs=civil servants and AF=armed forces.

An overview of the four occupational groups concerning the five aspects of fathers' and mothers' child-rearing practices are seen in Tables 9 and 10.

Table 9
Mean Score and Standard Deviation Concerning the Five Aspects of Child-rearing Practice for Fathers

Aspects of Child Rearing	Farmers (N=117)		Traders (N=26)		Civil S. (N=107)		Armed F. (N=13)	
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
Stimulation dimension	7.76	3.86	10.73	3.93	12.72	4.53	13.62	3.86
Social contacts dimension	4.24	1.97	4.69	1.67	4.81	1.57	4.92	1.50
Achievement pressure dimension	5.36	2.12	5.96	1.54	6.76	1.88	6.15	1.86
Parent's non-authoritarian attitude	3.54	1.38	4.23	1.82	5.04	1.63	4.92	.76
Parent's non-fatalistic view	.63	.79	.69	.88	.89	.84	.31	.63

Table 10
Mean Score and Standard Deviation Concerning the Five Aspects of Child-rearing Practice for Mothers

Aspects of Child Rearing	Farmers (N=117)		Traders (N=26)		Civil S. (N=107)		Armed F. (N=13)	
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
Stimulation dimension	7.87	3.63	11.15	3.76	12.71	4.81	13.92	3.45
Social contacts dimension	2.16	1.26	2.54	1.03	2.45	1.12	3.08	0.76
Achievement pressure dimension	3.00	1.65	3.69	1.57	4.12	1.39	4.00	1.41
Parent's non-authoritarian attitude	2.16	1.26	3.00	1.33	3.25	1.32	3.00	1.16
Parent's non-fatalistic view	1.19	0.96	1.08	1.13	1.44	1.05	1.77	1.01

The fifth and last hypothesis is derived from the former one. Due to the difference in child-rearing practice among the occupational groups and that child-rearing practices are assumed to contribute much to the development of the child's achievement motivation, the constructed hypothesis is that there is a significant difference in the child's achievement motivation among the occupational groups. This hypothesis has not been confirmed (Table 11).

Table 11
F-Test of the Child's Achievement Motivation Measured With the Picture and Story Test among Four Occupational Groups

Name of Test	F	P > .05
Picture test	2.10	ns.
Story test	2.09	ns.

DISCUSSION

The results show a significant positive correlation between the parents' child-rearing practice and the child's achievement motivation when the latter is measured with the picture test. The results are insignificant when the story test is used to measure the child's achievement motivation. In this connection, further investigation about the story test is necessary. The addition of items to the test which may increase its adequateness is proposed.

The finding described above implies support to the first hypothesis. The kind of child rearing given by the parents to their children contributes much to the development of the child's achievement motivation on account of the experiences they have undergone. Analysing further the correlation of each aspect of child-rearing practices with the child's achievement motivation, it turns out that in the case of both father and mother, stimulation dimension has the highest correlation coefficients with the child's achievement motivation. Considering the variables investigated which form the components of the stimulation dimension, namely, freedom of behaviour, variability of the life situation, motivation by home location and arrangement, helping and promoting achievements, the result indicate that variables described below may be assumed to have promoting effects on the achievement motivation development through the formation of cognitive values. These variables are:

(a) Freedom of behaviour and adequate space to play and move. The parents in this case need not be anxious to lose their children who are out of their sight while playing. Likewise, it is not necessary to have their children near them. Warning them to be more careful or reduce the noise among children and other such psychological restrictions do not seem to be of any benefit.

(b) Variability of the life situation, such as various experiences in other places outside the home area, knowledge from television, radio performances or film.

(c) Home 'culture' which is stimulating such as having enough good books for the child, reading books as well as study books, magazines, having pictures of famous people on the wall, radio or television, having tasks to do at home such as pets to care for, and in particular, having toys to play with.

(d) Support in the advancement of useful hobbies of the child which helps to improve his abilities in some other fields which he likes.

The social contacts aspect gives a picture somewhat different from that of the stimulation dimension. While it has a significant positive correlation with the child's achievement motivation among the fathers, it does not have a significant correlation among the mothers.

Social contacts in this case may take the form of allowing the child to have relationship with other people such as peer group, neighbours, through games or boy scout movement; and parent-child relationship likewise belongs to this category. This last variable includes, for instance, the case of the child going together with his father or mother, having enough time to be with the parents and a good emotional relationship with them.

The fact that there is a positive correlation between social contacts and the child's achievement motivation may be interpreted that a good relationship between father and child as manifested by the non-authoritarian and democratic attitude on the part of the father seems to foster the development of the child's achievement motivation. Trudewind (1975) has stated that social interactions such as parent-child relationship appears as an important variable for the cognitive development of the child.

In the Javanese society, the kind of father-child interaction has a great effect on the child because the father is considered as the most important person in the home. Manipulation of this social contact by the father must be strongly felt by the child. Therefore, a democratic attitude of the father resulting in good social contacts between father and child promotes the cognitive development of the child which brings about the establishment of the achievement-thematical norm values and, further, the development of achievement motivation.

On the other hand, speculations could be made that a generally warm emotional relationship between mother and child does not make the mother's social contacts manipulations felt strongly by the child, thus failing to affect his achievement motivation.

The achievement pressure dimension gives a reversed picture as compared with the social contacts dimension. Here, the data from the group of fathers do not show a significant positive correlation with the child's achievement motivation as in the case of data from mothers. This means that the mothers' achievement pressure will be something of a particular advantage in comparison with the fathers' achievement pressure. The assumption may perhaps be made that the mothers' pressure here is of an authoritative type which means that it is controlling and demanding yet, at the same time, has a warm, rational and receptive nature with reference tot he child's communication.

Rosen and D'andrade (1959) also found that high achievement motivation children have mothers who are encouraging and demanding and fathers who stay out of the picture. This view may also be supported by the fact that in most cases, mothers are more involved with the child in the course of the day so that their achievement pressure can be made more appropriate to the child's needs and emotions.

The findings and explanations above correspond clearly with the outcome of the fourth aspect, namely, the correlation between the parents' non-authoritarian attitude and the child's achievement motivation. On the side of the fathers, this correlation is significantly positive. A non-authoritarian attitude on the side of the parents, in this investigation, means allowing the children to express their own opinions and having their own choices of decisions in matters concerning themselves which contribute to motive development.

The last aspect, that is the parents' non-fatalistic view, has a significant positive correlation with the child's achievement motivation in both fathers and mothers. This means that a non-fatalistic attitude on the part of the parents contributes to the achievement motivation development of the child. A non-fatalistic attitude of the parents stimulates the child to exert his effort in reaching a goal. In this connection, as has been explained earlier about the origin and development of achievement motivation, it can be put forward that exerting efforts in reaching a goal can give the feeling of being the personal agent in accomplishment. This feeling of accomplishment and the knowledge that he has produced the particular performance outcome are requirements for the development of achievement motivation.

The kind of child rearing practised by parents is also significantly related to their educational level (Table 5). This significant positive correlation is true of all the five aspects of child-rearing except parents' non-fatalistic view. This means that in this respect, factors other than educational level affect the formation of parents' non-fatalistic view. It may be assumed that cultural factors, traditional beliefs and customs contribute much to produce this view of life. For the other four aspects of child-rearing practices, the second hypothesis is confirmed.

The results correspond with the theoretical considerations which have been put forward, namely, that education has brought changes to their child-rearing practices which, in turn, affects the child's achievement motivation. It also has been found out that among mothers, the stimulation dimension and the achievement pressure dimension do play a great role in the relationship between the mothers' level of education and the child's achievement motivation.

The third hypothesis, namely that there are differences in the parents level of education among the four occupational groups has also been confirmed, both among fathers and mothers (Tables 6 and 7, and Figures 1 and 2).

Further analysis shows that among the fathers, the farmers shows the lowest educational level, having a mean score of 3.9 years of education, followed by the traders with a mean score of 6.2, the armed forces with a mean score of 6.7 and the civil servants having the highest mean score which is 10 (Figure 1).

The outcome for the group of mothers shows an equal trend to that of the fathers. The farmers have the lowest score of 3.1 years, next comes the traders with 5.2 years of education, followed by the armed forces and civil servants, with 7.2 and 7.3 years of education respectively (Figure 2). It is interesting to point out that mothers in general have a lower level of education than fathers except for the group of armed forces where mothers show a higher educational level than fathers (e.g. Figures 1 and 2).

It is easy to understand the lower educational level of the mothers. There are less opportunities for women at the time when they were young. Therefore, it remains an objective for further investigation to ascertain why mothers of the armed forces have higher level of education than fathers.

The fourth hypothesis is that there are differences in the child-rearing practices among the different occupational groups. This hypothesis stands in relation to the farmer and is based on the logical consideration that if the parent's educational level has influenced child-rearing practice (second hypothesis), and if there are differences in educational groups (third hypothesis), then there will be differences in child-rearing practices among the occupational groups (fourth hypothesis). All these hypotheses are confirmed.

Significant differences in child-rearing of the fathers and the mothers are found among the four occupational groups (Table 8) except that no significant differences are found among the fathers for the 'social contacts' dimension and the 'non-fatalistic view' among mothers. The differences in child rearing among the occupational groups indicate that occupational class may have some contributions to the kind of child-rearing practices.

The differences in child rearing among the four groups as seen in Figure 3 show that the lowest correlation between child-rearing practices and the child's achievement motivation is found among the farmer group while the highest score is obtained by the group of civil servants. Immediately after the civil servants are the armed forces and in between are the traders (Figure 3).

The last hypothesis that there are differences in the child achievement motivation among the occupational groups has not been confirmed (see Table 11). It could be assumed that factors other than the parents' child-rearing practices are operating in the formation of the child's achievement motivation development. For example, other persons in the family unit such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, or the peer groups contribute to the child's socialisation process.

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An Empirical Study of N-Ach in Relation to Prolonged Deprivation and Child-Rearing Practices **

Tiwari Ashta Nand and *Tripathi Ramesh Mani*

In an undeveloped country like India, a subject of vital concern is its economic uplift and development. A great deal of the economic standing of any country depends on the need felt by the people to better themselves and to attain certain standards of excellence. This need is termed as n-Ach or achievement motive. This need is a learned type of motivation and is determined largely by the society in which one grows. Two broad antecedental factors – individual experiential background or prolonged deprivation and child-rearing practice – have been identified to determine the strength of one's achievement motive.

Therefore, this research aims to answer two questions:

(1) What is the relationship between child-rearing practices and development of n-Ach?
(2) How does this relationship vary in relation to prolonged deprivation?

Prolonged deprivation is perceived as a global construct representing experiential output of the individual accumulated during a long span of time.

In the early phases of a child's life, he/she is dependent upon family members and this dependence puts the family members in a position to shape his/her personality. Through the mechanism of discriminative reinforcement, identification and modelling, the child acquires a set of characteristics which constitutes his/her personality. Therefore, it is hypothesised that parents of high and low n-Ach groups will differ with respect to demands as well as restrictions for independence and mastery.

Moreover, the strength of n-Ach will also differ in respect to child-rearing practice and prolonged deprivation.

The sample, consisting of 200 male of ages ranging from 15 to 25 years, represents all types of villages found in the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh.

The instruments used are: (1) Prolonged Deprivation Scale (PDS) which is developed by Misra and Tripathi (2) Achievement Motive Scale (AMS) which is also developed by Misra and Tripathi to determine the strength of n-Ach; and (3) Demand and Restriction for Independence and Mastery Scale which is designed by the author to measure parents' attitudes toward independence of their children. On the basis of their scores on PDS, the subjects are categorised into low deprived group (LD), high deprived group (HI) and medium deprived group (MD).

The study was conducted in field setting to all of the subjects. Since many of the Ss were illiterate, many of the items had to be explained to them in *Bhojpuri* (a local Hindi dialect).

Analysis of the data shows that the median demand age is 8 years which is deemed as a demarcation between early and late demands. Demands made before 8 years is considered 'early demand' while these occurring after 8 years is deemed 'late demand'. High n-ach parents differ significantly from low n-Ach parent on this variable. That is, parents of high n-Ach subjects make early demands significantly more frequently than low n-Ach parents.

Delay in restriction is correclated with n-Ach. Parents of high n-Ach Ss tend to delay their restrictions on various activities of the child. Deprivation does not have any significant effect on the strength of the achievement motivation. The findings of this research indicate that early demands for mastery and late restrictions lead to a high degree of achievement motive while late demand and early restriction tend to decrease the strength of achievement motive.

The results suggest that two aspects of child-rearing practice, demand and restriction, are important factors determining the strength of n-Ach and deprivation fails to produce any effect if child-rearing practice effect is partialled out.

Paper II

Main Theme

Issues on Child Development

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Juvenile Delinquency and Some Measures to Control Its Increasing Trends

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INTRODUCTION

Delinquency is normally considered as a form of deviancy among children and for the purpose of this paper, it is so defined. In addition, there is one other criterion, namely, only those young people who have commited criminal offences are to be considered as juvenile delinquents. This somewhat narrow interpretation is necessary in order to limit the perspective or scope of this paper.

It must be stated at the outset that although some general statements are made in this paper, much of the references are largely based on the writer's own experiences and the conditions prevailing in Malaysia. This rather limited step has to be adopted in view of the dearth of materials, specially relevant data, relating to a similar problem in other countries.

What follows is a brief exposure of the main aspects of what is generally regarded as a serious problem. The aspects discussed here are: (1) the extent of the problem (2) some of the causative factors from a theoretical viewpoint (3) criminal justice system created specifically to deal with this problem and (4) some suggestions on preventive measures..

It is hoped that in the course of the discussion, some innovative ideas could be developed so as to improve social and other conditions in the community thereby reducing delinquency as well as creating or developing better strategies and essential framework or structures in order to deal with this problem more effectively.

EXTENT OF DELINQUENCY PROBLEM

The number of persons involved as the main protagonists and the size of the group to which they belong offer reasonable bases for assessing the magnitude of the problem of juvenile delinquency. Before attempting to answer the question regarding the number of juvenile offenders, the following clarifications are needed. A distinction between males and females should be made, the reason being that females are generally far less delinquent than males. The proportion of male and female juveniles living in urban and rural areas must be determined because juvenile delinquency is, in most cases, an urban phenomenon. Finally, only those who have committed an act which, if committed by an adult would imply criminal prosecution, should be considered as offenders. With this interpretation, juveniles who are merely in need of attention such as those requiring care and protection or assistance but who have not committed an offence are excluded. The wayward girls and the juvenile prostitutes are likewise excluded from this category as they have in fact not committed any criminal offence.

What is the average percentage of juvenile offenders among minors? It is difficult to have a figure on this as it varies from country to country. The percentage is never constant in view of changes taking place from time to time and there is also a noticeable difference between the urban and the rural areas. In each country, a diversity of factors such as family situation, standards of living, education, working conditions, attitudes of the community or neighbourhood play a significant role in determining the patterns of incidence of delinquency. Yet in some countries, it has been said that one out of every three boys become delinquent at some time or other, particularly in urban areas. In others, the percentage is between 15 and 20. In the less developed areas, the proportion is estimated to be between 1 and 5%.[1]

As it is rather difficult to obtain the statistics in relation to the number and percentage of juvenile offenders over a period of time from other countries, data from Malaysia is used to provide some indication if they conform to the general statement above. Table 1 shows the number of juvenile offenders brought before the courts, both juvenile and adult courts, in Malaysia from 1960 to 1980. Although the number dropped by 4.06% in 1965, it increased again in subsequent years to give an overall 39.3% increase in 1980 over 1960.

Table 1
Number of Juvenile Offenders Brought Before the Courts in Malaysia from 1960 to 1980

Type of Offenders	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1960– 80
Against Property	1,098	1,280	1,419	2,874	2,474	
Against Persons	148	116	110	147	312	
Sexual Offences	–	11	24	21	31	
Gambling	19	96	194	99	104	
Others	1,248	908	733	333	580	
Total	2,513	2,411	2,480	3,474	3,501	+39.3%

Source. Malaysia, Ministry of Welfare Services.

With a total population in 1980 of 13.14 million people, of which 2.25 million are children between the ages of 10 and 18 years (minors), the proportion of juvenile delinquents to the number of minors is only 0.14%. This figure is certainly much lower than the 1–5% attributed to the less developed countries.

The extent of female juvenile crime is more difficult to ascertain as the role played by women in general and girls in particular varies greatly from country to country. According to one research, the ratio is put as between 30–40 juvenile males for every female.[2] Table 2 which shows the male/female breakdown of the delinquent population in Malaysia during 1960–1980 indicates that the proportion is 1 female to about 41 males which falls within the estimated norm.

Table 2
Number of Female Juvenile Offenders in Malaysia from 1960 to 1980

Year	Male	Female	F/M (in %)
1960	2396	117	4.88
1965	2327	84	3.61
1970	2396	84	3.51
1975	3412	62	1.82
1980	3417	84	2.46

Source. Malaysia, Ministry of Welfare Services.

CAUSATIVE FACTORS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

From the empirical evidence available, it is found that juvenile offenders are more likely to come from low socio-economic families. Many are from broken homes and are often found to be living in slum and squatter surroundings. Those who attended school are also likely to be from large families with a large number of siblings. These same characteristics are probably those of offenders in other countries. However, these characteristics in themselves do not adequately explain the causation of juvenile delinquency. The question is why do the majority of poor kids with identical background do not break the law?

Social phenomena are seldom given to simple cause-and-effect explanations. A simple act deemed to be delinquent can in fact be viewed from several theoretical and philosophical perspectives. It is now universally accepted that no single factor can be said to be the cause of a delinquent act or behaviour. Simply put, it does not stand up to examination when one particular factor that is said to be the cause of delinquency in one individual does not result in delinquency in another. This is enough to demolish the mono-factor theory of delinquency. For example, poverty is not in itself a cause but in combination with other circumstances may induce delinquency. Cohen and Short[3] have made out a case by explaining that: 'the presence of one of these factors contributes a push in the direction of crime; the addition of a factor increases the strength of the push; and a third factor increases it still more, and so on'. For more adequent explanations, we may have to resort to some socio-psycho-biological theories of delinquency.

In Malaysia as in other countries, delinquency is largely an urban phenomenon brought about mainly by the process of national development and more specifically, by the increasing tempo and pace of industrialisation and urbanisation. This accounts for the preponderance of cases in the more urban setting. This process of development, while solving important national problems, gives rise to other unintended problems – a higher level of crime and delinquency. Government policy and development efforts have raised the level of expectation of adults and youths alike. In their effort to realise their expectations, they are caught up in a struggle which is often marred with frustrations and disillusionment. Merton's[4] formulation of the anomic theory is relevant to such a context. This theory relates to the desired ends and the means to achieve them. In Malaysia, with the tremendous development efforts and the exhortations to grasp the available opportunities, an achievement-oriented society becomes its off-shoot. Frustrations, however, result when the desired goals are unattainable through institutionalised means which is somehow limited. A state of anomie is said to prevail when individuals do not follow the normative means of reaching the desired goals.

Delinquency can also be explained in the context of differential association. This is also known as the cultural-transmission theory. Sutherland[5] is also credited for the explication that criminal behaviour is learned in the process of communication and interaction with other people. The person learns the values, attitudes and also criminal techniques of those he associates with. Such exposure to delinquent values and their resultant acceptance are likely to prompt a person into practising what we refer to as 'delinquent culture'. This probably explains that 'bad associations' have contaminating influences. The simple truth is that when one learns from another who is 'bad', one is likely to become 'bad' himself.

There are also the psycho-biological perspectives to delinquency. This perspective holds that the innate forces predispose an individual to criminality. This is tantamount to saying that the predictive elements in delinquency are, because of the individual's inherited characteristics, present in the individual from the time of his birth. However, the commonly held view is that both nature and nurture are equally important factors in developing delinquency. Closely related to this perspective is the important factor of maturity. An individual, because of his immaturity in thinking and reasoning and his restricted faculty for making sound judgements, leads him to breach the social standards and norms without the full restraining force from within.

Social workers in particular are concerned about family dynamics in the causation of delinquency. What a person will be, whether he is going to be wholesome and a secure individual, depends very much on his treatment at home. If a child is too often punished for telling the truth, he learns over time, to lie and be dishonest. He learns that it does not pay to be honest and his pattern of behaviour will likely to revolve around escaping punishment by dishonest means. This experience may well be extended to his outside world. Family dynamics in regard to attention, love and affection, give and giving and the proper impartation of societal norms and values are important dimensions to influencing and shaping socially acceptable behaviour patterns in the individual.

All in all, the opportunity factor in crime and delinquency should not be overlooked in the explanation of causation. When an opportunity does not present itself to the commission of an act, such act may well not take place. This may be so when control and supervision are present. This can be extended to imply that people are law-abiding not because they respect the law or are inherently law-abiding. They do not get themselves involved in crime and delinquency because of the presence of control and supervision. Individuals are more likely to observe the law because of the high risk of getting caught and having to suffer the consequences of punishment. This re-emphasises the importance of the internalisation of socially sanctioned norms and values and proper social control over the young.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Where an offence of criminal nature has been committed by the delinquent child, he has to undergo some forms of judicial proceedings. In many countries, there are provision for dealing with juvenile offenders. To cite the example of Malaysia, there is the Juvenile Courts Act 1947 which provides for the hearing of a juvenile case before a court specially convened for the purpose. Present at this court are the court president who is a member of the judiciary and two advisors drawn from a list of members of the public selected to perform this function. There is then the prosecuting officer, the witnesses, the Probation Officer and the child's parents or guardians. The members of the public and the Press are barred from this court.

Having ascertained the guilt on the part of the child, the court then determines the most appropriate treatment or rehabilitation approach for the child, based on the report of his social background prepared by the Probation Officer. In disposing the case, the court has several options ranging from a mere caution to the execution of a bond of good behaviour for a specified period, with or without surety/sureties, the placement under the supervision of a Probation Officer for a specified period, with or without a condition of residence, to a committal to a corrective or approved institution. The type of treatment meted out is largely based on the gravity of the offence and the willingness, capability and suitability on the part of the parents or guardians to exercise proper control and guardianship over the child. In most cases, should the prognosis appear favourable, no committal to an institution is made.

Institutional Treatment

Once the court has made a committal order, the child is sent to a corrective or approved institution where he is to remain for a period, usually three years. During this time, he is placed with other boys who have been similarly committed. He is taught some forms of academic and technical skills in preparation for his eventual release. Although training in various forms are emphasised, the inherent reasons behind these activities are to inculcate discipline, regular working habits and good human relationship in the child.

The child is encouraged to communicate with his parents either through correspondence or visits. Reports of his progress are regularly sent to the local Probation Officer who would then communicate with the parents. In the meantime, the Probation Officer would continue contact with the parents so that they would be prepared for his eventual return to the family.

Community-based Treatment

When the juvenile is assigned to the Probation Officer for his supervision, he would set out a working plan with the juvenile and his parents in order to put him back in his environment as quickly as possible. Should he be in a position to continue with his education, arrangements are made for his re-entry or, if necessary, for admission to a new educational institution. If he were of working age, some arrangements are made for his employment. Several conditions are then laid in order to ensure conformity on the part of the child.

The parents are advised to exercise proper care and supervision over the conduct and behaviour of the child. During the course of the supervision period, there is a regular exchange of visits between the child and his parents and the Probation Officer. The officer would make himself available for consultation on any matter pertaining to his welfare. This relationship terminates the moment mandatory supervision period ends. However, in many instances, this established relationship continues unofficially, especially on the part of the child or his parents should be get himself into difficulty again.

Similar pattern of supervision is exercised in the case of a child on trial released from a correctional or approved institution.

Comments

Since most of the juvenile offenders brought before the Juvenile Courts plead guilty, there does not seem to be any further need for the participation of the judicial person whose main function is to determine the innocence or guilt of the accused offender. That function having been disposed of by way of the guilty plea, it is felt that the remaining function of determining the most suitable treatment for the offender could well be passed on to lay persons. It is noted that such an arrangement has been practised in some countries and similar arrangements could be effected in many other countries, including Malaysia, if found feasible. In the case of Malaysia, this arrangement, if adopted, would release the magistrates from this aspect of the work with juvenile, enabling them to attend to the more pressing criminal and civil cases in the open courts.

From the court proceedings, it would appear that since it is the child that has committed the offence, he should undergo treatment or 'punishment'. It is felt that the court should satisfy itself that the parents or guardians have actually exercised proper care and guardianship over the child. Should the contrary be proven, it would seem fair if the parents are compelled to exercise greater care and guardianship over the child. In fact, such negligent parents or those who in some way or other have contributed towards the delinquency of the child should be obliged to undergo some forms of rehabilitation themselves because, otherwise, they would again fail in their duties in respect of the same child and the other children in the family.

With the increase in the number of juveniles placed under their jurisdiction, the welfare authorities such as the Probation Officers are unable to perform their supervisory function satisfactorily. Since this is a legal function, only gazetted officials are empowered to exercise control and supervision over the juvenile offenders. It is, therefore, necessary for the authorities to consider mobilising volunteers to assist them especially in the field of supervision – providing friendship and guidance to child and his family. In this respect, the selection and training of such volunteers is particularly important in view of their close association with the child who will be under their influence. The volunteers should be highly motivated and training in the field of human behaviour analysis will be a great help in their work.

No matter how efficient the system of judicial intervention or how good a programme of rehabilitation is, the juvenile needs the support of the community, apart from his parents, in order to grow out of his delinquency. It is to the community that we have to look for the volunteers to perform this task.

Much has been said about the weight of the influences of the peer group. It would be pertinent to consider enlisting volunteers from this group, the matter being one of many good exercising influence over a few bad ones. However, care must be taken to ensure that the right kind of people are brought together.

SOME PREVENTIVE MEASURES

The preceding discussion deals with the child who has become delinquent and the processes of the legal and judicial systems will have to take their own course. However efficient they may be, the better course of action is to prevent the young one from becoming delinquent, and it is here that the family can play a vital role.

The family has been acclaimed throughout the ages and in all climes as the sole sustainer of human society. It has also been called 'the transfer point of civilisation' through which social, cultural and moral values are transmitted from generation to generation. What is learnt in the family becomes crystallised in the psyche of the child and carries on in later life as a member of society.

Education and socialisation in the family, therefore, should be viewed as fundamental in any study of delinquency. Education should consist of bringing out the latent elements in the child. It should be regarded as preparation for an on-going life, and the family, therefore, has an impórtant role to play.

The lack of wholesome parental interest in a child, especially on the part of the mother, tends to contribute to the development of excessive feelings of insecurity and anxiety. This, in turn, may lead to the perpetuation of crime and delinquency by the youngster. A high proportion of the delinquent children are noted to have come from families where the mothers were lax in their discipline and allowed their children to do as they please. A high proportion of the insecure and anxious children are found among those from broken homes whose parents suffer from alcoholism, fail to provide recreational outlets at home and leave the children tc their own devices.

Much of the deviant behaviour of an individual has been attributed to a faulty upbringing and, as such, parents have a great responsibility of instilling in their children the discipline and good qualities of social living. They themselves must show good examples by practising and displaying all these qualities. The respect the parents show to their elders would generate similar behaviour in their children.

Differences between generations could be avoided if parents could give the love, care and attention so necessary to their children. Parents should be prepared to be close to their children, sharing their problems and anxieties and ever ready to counsel them when needed. Material offerings cannot be substituted for these efforts. Parents must find the time for their children because they cannot absolve themselves of responsibilities should something go astray with the children at a later stage.

Facilities should be made available for parents to consult specialists should they encounter difficulties with their children. It is the responsibility of the state to provide child-guidance clinics and such other facilities as may be necessary. Social education programmes for young couples should be embarked upon and pursued so that they are made aware of their responsibilities, among other things, in respect of their children. The state machinery as well as voluntary organisations should provide facilities for such education.

The positive attitude of the neighbourhood or community is essential in keeping track of the behaviour of the children in the community. In the more rural environment, members of the community would express their concern over the good behaviour of all, including the children, in a variety of ways. Whenever a child is seen to deviate from the acceptable norm, he would immediately be corrected by the other members of the community, without waiting to report to his own parents. This mutual care and concern over the behaviour of the younger members of the community, in particular, seem to disappear progressively as the community becomes larger as, for example, int he cities.

It is interesting to note that in some countries, steps are being taken to improve or inculcate the spirits of neighbourliness among their inhabitants. This positive step could pave the way for re-establishing mutual checks and control over the forms of behaviour of the smaller communities hence contributing to the reduction of the delinquency problem.

1. M. Lopez-Rey, 'Youth and crime in contemporary and future society', *UNAFEI*, March 1978, p. 74.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
3. Albert K. Cohen and James F. Short, 'Crime and juvenile delinquency' in Robert K. Merton & Robert Nisbet eds., *Contemporary social problems*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 3d. ed., 1971, p. 11/-17.
4. Robert K. Merton, *Social theory and social structure*, New York, Free Press, 1957.
5. Edwin H. Sutherland and D.R. Cressy, *Principles of criminology*, 8th ed., Philadiphia, Lippincott, 1970.

Studying Parents, Children and Changes in the Family

Judith F. Dunn

Children all over the world grow up in families. They develop their powers of understanding—of themselves and of others, of the world in which they live—their personalities, emotional and social well-being and within a network of relationships with mother, father, grandparents, siblings, cousins, neighbours and friends. This complex network of relationships, the family, is, in the West, changing in a number of well-documented ways. There are increasing numbers of mothers who are full-time employed, of single-parent families and of children brought up in group care. Social change and stressful events have, in all cultures, an impact on children by changing patterns of child-rearing, regardless of the stage of industrialisation or modernisation of the nations, as emphasised in a recent Unesco Symposium on the Family.

The question of how we can best investigate the developmental consequences of these changes for children is an urgent one. Psychologists are increasingly aware of the limitations of research that focuses upon parent-child relationships in isolation from the family world of the child and from the broader social context. In cross-cultural work, it is of particular importance to study children's development within a framework that is not restricted to an examination of the behaviour of parents with children. This paper is concerned with two main themes: the developmental implications of first, a focus upon family interaction rather than parent-child relationships; and second, the changes in family relationship that follow stressful events or social change.

These two themes are important for children growing up all over the world. To stress how *commonly* important these themes are is not to suggest, of course, that one draws simple lessons from research into these issues in one part of the world which can be applied to families in other parts of the world and other cultures. It is clearly urgent for us to understand more clearly the relations between particular cultural settings, family patterns, and the development of children. While this is not the topic of my paper, it is hoped that one of the products of this Workshop will be collaborative research that allows us to begin to explore these relationships. It cannot be emphasised too strongly how much developmental psychology does benefit from careful systematic research in cultures other than the Western one from which 'universalisations' are frequently made.

However, while simple extrapolations from studies of, for instance, the effects of social stress in Britain to studies of the effects of urbanisation on families in an African country would clearly be grossly misleading, it seems to me important that we should try to see whether there are indeed general principles which research in the West has uncovered in examining these two themes, principles which might be relevant and applicable to research into the development of children in other parts of the world. At the very least, there are certain method logical lessons to be drawn that are important in thinking about research strategies. This talk discusses and comments (1) recent research into the family as a world in which children grow up, in particular, the shift away from focusing upon the mother-child relationship as the influence of overwhelming importance in early childhood to an exploration of the mutual influence of family relationships; (2) the issue of change/stress within and upon the family as an influence on children's development; (3) recent research into the links between women's own experiences as children and their parenting behaviour; and (4) which strategies are the most sensitive and appropriate for investigating these issues in other contexts.

PARENTING AND THE FAMILY

The bulk of research on parenting attempts to establish patterns of relations between aspects of parental functioning and characteristics of the children. As Maccoby and Masters comment in a recent review, 'Certain consistent themes have appeared in many studies involving different methods of assessment and different outcome variables, so that a picture of what constitutes 'competent' or 'skillful' parenting is beginning to emerge'. In reviewing research on Western families, they characterise successful parenting as on a 'authoritative reciprocal pattern'. But they stress that

> the trends are sufficiently weak that it is evident that there must be a very large number of exceptions to them. There are many cases in which either authoritarian or permissive parenting seems to work as well as the authoritative-reciprocal pattern that emerged as optimal in a number of studies.

And they note that

> However, we have given more attention to the positive findings than to the studies in which no significant relationships have emerged. And in most cases, the relationships that have appeared are not large, if one thinks in terms of the amount of variance accounted for. Many studies involve the measurement of a fairly large number of characteristics of both parents and children, so that the question must be raised as to whether the number of significant correlations exceeds the number to be expected by chance. In the long run, the only way to pick out the robust findings is replication.

There is a further limitation in this research on parenting and the conclusions drawn from it. Not only is there a question of the number of significant correlations expected by chance but also a very important fact is omitted from most discussion of the effects of parenting styles on children. If we look at different children brought up within the same family siblings who share 50% of their genes as well as a common family world, then we find that in measures of personality, intelligence, and psychopathology, these children differ from one another almost as much as totally unrelated children brought up in different families. It is a notable finding which implies strongly that there is very little impact of the physical environment that parents provide for children and parental characteristics that must be essentially the same for all children in a family, for example, education or the quality of the relationship between the spouses. Indeed, the implications are either that parental behaviours have no effect or that the only effective aspects of parenting must vary greatly from one child to another within the same family. Why should the children within a family differ so dramatically? There are a number of possible processes which could contribute to the differences: differential treatment of the siblings by the parents; direct effects of the siblings upon one another and 'ecological niche-picking', in Scarr's terms. Here, importance of these different processes are illustrated with some examples from recent research.

(1) The different relationships within the family affect one another. The arrival of a sibling, for instance, dramatically affects the relationship

between a mother and her first born. In families in which the mother or father has a close relationship with the first born, the relationship that develops between the siblings is likely to be hostile, especially if the first child is a daughter. The relationship between siblings also affects the parent-child relationship. If we take seriously the importance of the parent-child relationship, we should take account of the impact of the siblings upon that relationship.

(2) Siblings have a direct impact upon one another. Their influence is demonstrated, for instance, in imitative behaviour and in the shaping of aggressive behaviour; siblings are particularly important in the acquistion and transmission of cultural knowledge, even in the preschool years. Examples will be given from Samoa, Papua, New Guinea and the United Kingdom.

(3) Individual differences in the affective quality of the sibling relationship are stable from early infancy to childhood.

(4) It is not birth order or sibling status that accounts for the marked individual differences in sibling relationships. The affective quality of the relationship is largely independent of these variables but is closely related to the quality of the parent-child relationship.

These findings illustrate the close connections between the sibling and parent-child relationships, and the developmental importance of the sibling relationship (largely ignored until recently). But within the family, of course, it is not just the relationships between siblings and parents that are closely linked; the relationship between mother and father is a crucially important aspect of the family system. Rutter, for instance, demonstrated that loss of a parent through death is not associated with the subsequent development of antisocial behaviour in children whereas loss through divorce or desertion is. Interparental discord and disharmony are associated with children's subsequent antisocial behaviour whether there has been a marital breakup or otherwise. Marital discord rather than loss of a parent appears to be a key predictive factor. We know little, however, about the dynamics of the process. Marital problems and discord disrupt parenting behaviour; there is also evidence for the opposite effect – that support from one adult for the other partner is linked to improved parenting. Rutter, studying the impact of divorce on children, found that in a sample of inner-city families, the negative effects of familial disruption on the children's future behaviour were mitigated if the mother remarried or otherwise entered into a supportive relationship with an adult partner.

Not only do many parents give support to one another's child-rearing activities but they also serve to shield the child from negative effects that might otherwise stem from a spouse's weakness. Hetherington, Cox and Cox, and Rutter report a 'buffering' process whereby the impact of an emotionally unstable or otherwise incompetent parent on a child is moderated by the presence and availability of a more stable parent. Thus, if either parent is functioning well, the child is unlikely to show disturbances in development. Quoting Maccoby and Masters, 'The implications of the work on family systems is clear. Research that attempts to understand child outcomes entirely from the perspective of mother-child interaction is leaving out an important influence on child development'. In our attempt to study the influence of the social environment in which children grow up, it is the *family* rather than the parents we should focus upon.

The examples of the effects of the birth of a sibling and of divorce of parents bring me to the second issue.

STRESS, SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE FAMILY

Most children in the West experience major changes in their environment during their first 5 or 6 years such as separation from the mother or experience of group care as well as the more extreme changes such as separation of the parents or periods in institutional care. How do these changes affect children and how far is the parent-child relationship implicated in the nature of the child's response to these changes?

First, it is important to note that it is not useful to consider stress or the emotional tension that different changes in the environment induce as a unitary phenomenon. The effects on children of divorce, bereavement and separation from the mother or periods in hospital are different. The questions that we now have to elucidate are specific rather than general. What is it about particular life events that makes them predispose children to particular disorders? What kinds of disorder follow which kinds of events at which stages of development? Neither a general notion of 'stress' nor an itemisation of the general factors associated with vulnerability or resilience can help us greatly towards answering these questions. What must be emphasised is that the effects of the different kinds of stressful change in the family are different not only in the form of children's response but also probably in the form of parental response as well and by implication in the processes linking event and outcome.

We are now at a stage of asking precise and specific questions about the consequences of particular events at different stages of parents' and children's lives. Beyond this general point, there are two particular problems involved in relating a general notion of stress to children's development. The first concerns individual differences. The notion of what is a stressful happening in early childhood is closely linked to the issue of individual differences, not only in children's responses to the event but in the response of parents also and in each family member's response to the others' altered behaviour. It is not simply the point that some children find particular experiences stressful and others do not. It is a more complicated matter, involving family patterns of response. Garmezy has argued convincingly for the importance of individual differences in children's temperament in his discussion of resilience. We now have evidence that temperamental differences between children are closely related not only to the way in which they respond to changes in their environment but also to the persistence of behaviour problems following such changes.

Data will be presented to illustrate this point showing, for instance, that an increase in persistence of anxious worrying and fearful behaviour after a sibling birth is systematically related to temperamental characteristics assessed before birth. However, it is clear that we should not regard such temperamental differences as completely independent of the quality of the relationship between child and parent. Although temperamental differences are not simply attributable to differences in parental perception of the child, they are closely related to differences in parental behaviour. This means that it cannot be assumed that the link between temperamental differences and children's response to stressful events is one that does not involve differences in parental behaviour.

In considering the association between individual differences in children's response to stressful events and family patterns of interaction, we face then a central question about the processes linking stressful events to dangers in children's behaviour. How far and in what ways are changes in family interaction implicated in the development of disorder or developmental changes following social change? With the birth of a sibling, for instance, the development of behaviour problems was found to be linked not only to the children's temperament but also to the marked changed in the interaction between mother and first born that accompanied the sibling birth. Noth only did the children become more difficult, miserable or withdrawn but also their mothers tended to become more restrictive and punitive and less playful and attentive. In any attempt to understand the process linking the initial event – in this case the sibling birth–to the later behaviour problems, we should take account of not only the child's initial response but also the parental behaviour related to that response. This point that the consequences of stressful events for a child's development will depend on the patterns of family interaction that follow illustrates one way in which the 'transactional' processes emphasised by many developmental psychologists may be important. Research into the consequences of divorce provides another example. Divorce imposes major stress upon all members of the family system. In the study by Hetherington and her colleagues, a group of families were followed for several years after divorce. The interactions of each parent with the children were observed on several occasions. The study was initiated at the time the legal divorce took place, usually following a period of marital separation. At this time, the target children were 4 years old; in all the families included in the study, mothers were the custodial parent and fathers had visiting rights. The initial reports of the study chart a deteriorating relationship between parents and children. During the first year following divorce, mothers, on the average, became more authoritarian, increasing their number of direct commands and prohibitions, and decreasing their responsiveness and affection-giving. The children, especially the boys, became less complaint and more aggressive. There was also a breakdown in family organisation and routine. The children's relationship with the fathers changed but in a different way. The fathers tended to withdraw from participation in rule enforcement, discipline and management of the children's routines. There was an increase in indulgence and gift-giving. By the time two years had passed since the legal divorce, there was evidence that the balance in parent-child relationships was being restored. Fathers were becoming stricter, mothers more patient and communicative, and children more cooperative. But the restoration occurred at greatly varying rates in different families, the rate depending on a variety of factors such as the formation of new intimate relationships by one or both the parents, the mothers' employment, and the economic stability of her household.

Crises do not always disrupt family functioning. Some families cope effectively with difficulties, others do not. What factors affect family reactions to stress and change? The importance of social support systems is becoming clear. George Brown's work on depression in women, for instance (which is closely linked to depression in their children) shows that the impact of crises on women is dramatically decreased if they have intimate friends. And following divorce, too, the continuing support of the former husband affects the mother-child relationships which deteriorates much less if the father visits the children frequently and takes an active part in child-rearing.

The close link between maternal depression and child depression brings us again to the question of what particular processes and patterns of influence within the family are implicated in such associations. To emphasise the mutual influence of mother and child is not new; it is the clinical significance of the link between maternal and child behaviour in the depression studies that makes it all the more crucial that we should begin to trace the patterns of influence within the family with more accuracy and not simply to refer to mutual effects.

A second problem with the notion of stressful social changes is closely related to this issue of changed patterns of family interaction. Does the notion of 'stress' refer to a 'happening', an 'event', or does it apply to chronic circumstances that continue over time? The concept is frequently used in a confusing way with regard to the distinction between a *life-event* and *difficult circumstances*. It is interesting that the notion of 'coping' is seen as adaptation over time while stresses are sometimes seen as on-off events. But this may be very misleading. It could well be that what links the initial environmental change with the development of behavioural disorder or depression is a long-term change in family interaction. Many stressful changes in children's lives such as the separation or divorce of parents or the loss or illness of one parent are also very likely to involve marked and long-term changes in the interaction between parent and child. Two studies of attempted suicide have shown that the association between early loss of parent and suicidal ideation is strongly linked to the long-term consequences of the loss for family organisation:

> Our data indicate that when the family has accommodated successfully to loss or has been adequately reconstituted through remarriage or the presence of alternative surrogate parental figures, suicidal trends are unlikely to develop. On the other hand, when the disruption has resulted in major and longstanding family disorganisation, a predisposition to suicidal thinking is very probable and the likelihood that this could result in suicidal behaviour later in life is high.

It seems very probable that *differences* in the way in which family interaction patterns are affected are implicated in the *different* consequences of divorce, bereavement, separation and so on. Furthermore, the link between initial event and long-term change in family interaction patterns could well be important in understanding 'sleeper effects'– why, for example, the immediate grief reactions of very young children to bereavement may be very short term yet the long-term effects may be marked.

It is, then, surely important to examine the relation between specific events and chronic difficulties. But there is so much that we do not know about children's response to chronic stressful circumstances. Are children less affected than adults by day-to-day frustrations and difficulties? They certainly behave in the immediate context as if such frustrations were very difficult to bear. Are they less or more likely than adults to respond to such difficulties with 'learned helplessness'? How does this change with age? The importance of understanding the relation of a child's cognitive maturity – what he or she understands about the events and behaviour of the people of his world – is not the topic to be considered.

In the work on adult depression, there has been increasing attention to the meaning of life events to the person involved – the 'thoughts we have about the world and ourselves'. But there are obvious difficulties in relating this notion to the behaviour of very young children and any attempt to do so raises absolutely central questions about our understanding of children and their development. Our inferences about the meaning of an event to a child depend on our assumptions about the nature of the child's understanding of the world and himself and for young children, this is a very contentious issue. Disagreements about children's capabilities, particularly in the area of social cognition and the understanding of emotions, are marked, and the view that we have systematically underestimated children's understanding is increasingly widely held.

But the disagreements are not easily resolved; the difficulties facing the researcher here are enormous. How do we address the question of the meaning of an event or set of circumstances to an 18-month-old? How can we begin to understand their thoughts or feelings?

Seligman and Peterson's work on the links between maternal and childhood depression in 9 year-olds suggests that there is a close link between a mother's 'attributional style' and that of her child, and that both are linked to the development of depression following stressful events. The correlations given do not allow us to come to any definite conclusions on whether children's attributional style leads to depression or maternal attributional style influences children's attributional style. But the close link between both maternal and children's attributional style and depressive symptoms suggests that one fruitful way to pursue the origins of childhood depression and possible links with stressful events might be to look at the conversations between even younger children and their mothers. One hint that the processes involved may begin very early in children's lives comes from the analysis of family conversations in two longitudinal studies of children we are just completing in Cambridge, England. In the studies we were interested, in part, in the nature of conversations which mothers and children held about other people, responsibility and blame, and social rules. The studies show, first, that young children, even those of 3 years and under, were interested in psychological causality but that there were marked differences in how the mothers responded to this interest and the extent to which they discussed motives, intentions, and feelings of others. Two sets of findings illustrate how important these differences may be in the children's development. The first, from the study of the arrival of a sibling; in those families in which the mother discussed the newborn baby as a person with feelings, wishes and intentions, the children behaved with far more friendliness towards their siblings a year later than the children in those families in which such discussion had not taken place. The second, from a study of family conflict; in some families the mother, in dealing with conflict between the siblings, referred to the *feelings* of the second child while talking to the first; 6 months later, the second child in these families were more likely to appeal to the mother for help. Such findings suggest that mothers' conversations with their children about the behaviour of other people in the family and their attribution of motive and meaning may well have an important influence on even very young children. This issue is discussed under research methods and strategies.

My final point on social change and stress concerns the relation between stress and developmental change. Why is it that some children are remarkably resilient to traumatic change? And why is it that some stressful events can lead not only to 'coping' but also to developmental advances? We are very far from understanding what processes may be involved in these changes. In the study of children's responses to the birth of a sibling, over half the children made remarkably rapid developmental advances in the period immediately following the sibling birth and it was argued that the changes in the children's world that the birth involved in particular the change in care giver, for the days surrounding the birth could well have contributed to these developmental advances.

> It is certainly plausible that a shift in the routine of the child, and in what is expected of him by the care giver, might lead the child to discover for himself that he *can* do certain things, and that such achievement is enjoyable, whether it be mastering a difficult task like putting on a shoe, or conquering his fear of going to the toilet alone, or discovering that he has resources for play within himself.

There are three different possibilities here that need to be distinguished: the first is that with a different care giver, different requirements are placed on the child; the second is that the new care giver has different expectations and beliefs concerning the child. He or she attributes intentions and interprets the child's behaviour differently than the mother does. With both these interpretations, the explanation for the changed behaviour lies in the moulding by the *adults* of the child's actions. A third possibility is to view the altered behaviour as essentially a response by the *child* to an altered environment; if you greatly change the world of a child (or indeed of an adult), the chances are that you will not only draw his attention to new possibilities in the world but also to new possibilities in himself as an actor in that world. It may be that with a change in care giver, both the first two effects are operative. With either kind of change in the care giver, though, the consequence is likely to be a change in the child's feelings, beliefs, and ways of acting in the world.

The individual differences between children in the nature and extent of these developmental advances were marked and clearly this is an important area for further research. Are there some stages of development when particular experiences of change may be helpful to particular children? It is already known that the experience of routine separation from the mother during the first 2 years of life may buffer the child against the traumatic consequences of major separations from her. Just as it is important to study the whole family in order to understand the process linking event to disorder, it is also important to understand why some experiences lead to an increase in 'coping' or to rapid developmental change. We need to study not only the individual children but their whole families' response to the change. Seligman and Peterson's work suggests that one aspect of their response that could well be important is the attributional style of family members. The clinicians' work on the consequences of stressful change has an important lesson for developmental psychologists. It raises the question of what role sharp changes in the social environment may play in 'normal' development. How far, for instance, are the changes in self-concept at adolescence discussed in relation to suicide and linked to the changes in schooling and the social world that are experienced by adolescents in the United States and Europe? Would such changes be apparent in cultures in which the pattern of social experience of adolescents is very different? Cross-cultural studies which examined the relation between the timing of changes in adolescent social experience (such as initiation rites and transition to the adult world) and changes in self-concept would be very useful.

It is ironic that discountinuities in the early development of children should so often be attributed to maturational change and the impact of parents, the main *environmental* influence on children's development *being assumed to be continuous*, while biologists have shown the profound importance of sharp environmental transitions (weaning, for instance) in contributing to discontinuities in development. The discontinuities in social experience and expectation imposed by changes from home to preschool, from home to school and from junior school to high school must surely have profound effects on children's views of themselves, their families, and other people. Research on children's response to stressful change not only addresses questions of major clinical importance but also reminds us that changes in the social environment may be centrally important in accounting for transitions in normal development.

SIGNIFICANCE OF A MOTHER'S OWN CHILDREN EXPERIENCES

The final topic is one seen by psychiatrists to be of major importance in parenting behaviour. How does a mother's own experience of being mothered, as a child, affect her behaviour towards her own child? The findings from Rutter's recent study will be briefly commented on as they illustrate two important points made in the context of the earlier discussion: the importance of a supportive relationship in adolescence or adulthood in ameliorating the effects of stress and difficulty, and the long-term consequences of childhood experiences.

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH STRATEGIES

Finally, what themes from the research which have been described have general implications for research on parenting all over the world? Research strategies must be sensitive to the importance of examining different levels of influence on the child.

(1) A combination of epidemiological research with detailed observational methods is likely to be particularly useful e.g. Rutter's study of mothers' childhood experiences.
(2) The mutual influence of different family relationships must be examined.

(3) The importance of studying the conversations and discourse as well as 'conventional' parenting variables should be recognised.

(4) The relation of family to cultural context must be examined. Cross-cultural studies are of great importance; however, researchers must remain sensitive to the point that the range of individual differences within a cultural group may be greater than the range of differences between individuals from different cultures.

(5) Finally, research into families should be conducted over time. The importance of longitudinal research cannot be overemphasised.

Symposium II

SYMPOSIUM II A : Mental Health of Children

CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor Lim Hong Kuan*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. Leonard Yong*

Intergenerational Conflicts Regarding Child-Rearing Practices and Their Effects on Certain Behaviours of Children**

Chucha Suvanathat

It is well accepted the family has great influence on child-rearing practices. In the traditional Thai family, grandmothers play a major role in child care, particularly in two areas: (1) in rendering assistance to child delivery for a period of 5, 7 or 9 days immediately after child birth; and (2) caring and socialising the child while the parents are at work. Grandfathers also participate in child rearing but to a much smaller extent. In contrast, parents play the major role in child rearing in the nuclear family. Today, the number of nuclear families is increasing in Thailand.

Although young couples are receptive to their parents' advice on matter of child rearing, there may be conflicts in opinions owing to rapid socio-cultural changes and the increasing independence of women. This study attempts to investigate the status of inter-generational conflicts in matters of child rearing. The specific objectives of this study are to:

(1) investigate the attitudes of parents and grandparents toward child-rearing paractice;
(2) compare social behaviour and learning readiness of children in families differing in amounts of conflicts in child rearing; and
(3) compare the amount of inter-generational conflicts in child rearing among families whose grandparents' control of power differs.

The sample consists of 100 mother-grandmother pairs whose children are below 5 years of age and 100 preschoolers, aged 3–5 years, and their teachers. Only 33 pairs are available for this preliminary report. The families vary in socio-economic status and are living in urban and rural areas.

A questionnaire of 50 items was administered. The items relate to:

(1) philosophy, beliefs and principles of child care;
(2) children's basic need-satisfaction;
(3) child's socialisation, discipline and morality; and
(4) promotion of child's growth and development.

Parents and grandparents are interviewed individually.

The main findings are:

(1) Attitudes of parents and grandparents toward child-rearing practices are positively correlated, although there are suggestions of some disagreement between educated and professional parents and their own parents.
(2) Children from families with less inter-generational conflict express more social ability in playground activities than those from families with greater inter-generational conflict.
(3) Children in families with less generational conflicts have greater learning readiness than those from families with greater inter-generational conflicts.
(4) In families where grandparents' control of power varies, there is no difference in the amount of inter-generational conflicts in child-rearing.

An Investigation of the Factors Related to Anxiety in Children

Dilruba Afrose

INTRODUCTION

On the basis of clinical experiences in dealing with thousands of adults with physical as well as psychological problems, the clinicians have emphasised the importance of anxiety as one of the causative factors. It is also an empirically proven fact that competition and complexities of the modern world create constant anxiety in the adults. But even in developing countries like Bangladesh, where life is not as complex as that of the developed affluent countries and children live comparatively more sheltered life than adults, clinical evidence of children suffering from anxiety is a cause for concern among the clinicians and the professional workers in the field of child and adolescent development. In children, anxiety is manifested by hyperactivity, tension and clumsiness, nightmares, sleepwalking etc. and when it becomes severe, the child shows poor performance in school and therefore, every effort should be made to minimise this unconstructive emotion in children. In order to take any remedial measure, identification of the antecedent conditions for anxiety is essential.

Antecedents of Anxiety

To understand the problem of 'anxiety' is a very difficult task as there may be hidden causes and far reaching consequences. However, researchers in this field tried to attack the problem from various points of view. Sullivan (1953) maintains that anxiety is initially induced in the infant by anxiety in the mother through empathy. According to him, anxiety arises almost inevitably out of initial dependence and helplessness of the human infant. Because he must rely so much on other people for his survival and well-being, the infant is peculiarly sensitive to their moods and general attitudes toward him. Sooner or later, Sullivan suggests, the person caring for him, most likely his mother, becomes upset about something and in a mysterious non-verbal way, she communicates her feelings to him. Perhaps it has to do with the way she holds him or a change in her expression. The infant senses that something is drastically wrong and experiences the profoundly unpleasant emotion called anxiety. Hill and Sarason (1966), on the other hand, believe that chronic anxiety results from harsh evaluations by parents of children's behaviours and performances in their pre-school years.

Researches into parent-child relationships have shown that the child's behaviour, his personality and his adjustments are the products of interaction between various parental characteristics on the one hand and the child's individual characteristics on the other. Moreover, as the mother plays the dominant role in providing affection, discipline and other socialised behaviours, more emphasis was put on interaction between the mother and the child. But, according to Symonds (1949), the essence of parent-child relations lies more in how a parent feels than in what a parent does, that is, his concern lays with parental attitude.

Clinical studies of mothers of maladjusted children which have been reviewed by Radke (1946) and Symonds (1949) have revealed syndromes of maternal behaviours and attitudes which are related to differential personality structure of children. Research interest in the influence of the parent-child relationships upon personality development of the child has also been stimulated. Studies which have reported that objectively measured attitudes of parents toward child-rearing are related to emotional and social adjustments of children.

From these studies, it may be assumed that parental attitudes toward child-rearing is related to anxiety reactions in children. In this context, we may predict that anxiety will be higher for those children whose parents show maladaptive attitudes toward child-rearing. However, without going into the difficult task of describing what maladaptive attitudes are, let us examine some ways parents show differential attitudes to their children.

In our culture, boys and girls are brought up in such a way that they can fit into their individual stereotype sex roles. Social learning theorists believe that the boys' and the girls' behavioural patterns will be different because from infancy, they are treated differently. In our social system, more demands of a competitive nature are made on boys and they tend to be more anxious about achievement than girls (Hill and Sarason). But Hill and Sarason (1966) maintain that achievement-anxiety is situational anxiety whereas chronic anxiety is found in poorly evaluated children. Traditional beliefs and customs prevalent in our society force the mothers to show a biased attitude and from early infancy, it is apparent to the female child that she is inferior to her brothers as well as to males in general.

PURPOSE

This study was undertaken to investigate whether maternal attitudes toward child-rearing is related to anxiety reactions in children and to make a comparative study of anxiety responses of the boys and the girls.

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects consisted of 250 boys and 250 girls who were randomly selected from twelve different schools in Dhaka city. The criteria for selection used for both the boys and the girls were: (1) age of the subjects were to be between 12 to 14 years (2) parents were living together and (3) parents were willing to co-operate. A Children's Form of the Manifest Anxiety Scale by Castaneda *et al.*, (1965) was translated into Bengali and administered to the sample. On the basis of the anxiety scores achieved by the respondents, they were divided into three groups namely, high, moderate and low anixety groups.

Instruments Used

Children's Form of the Manifest Anxiety Scale (CMAS)

The translated Bengali version of the CMAS by Castaneda, McCandless and Palermo (1956) was used to measure the extent of anxiety in children. The original scale was translated into Bengali by the author. The reliability of the instrument was obtained from a group of 100 children in the age range of 12 to 15 years. The test-retest reliabilities over a period of two weeks were 0.84 and 0.71 for anxiety score and lie score respectively. For validity, correlations were calculated between scores obtained by 40 children (20 children scoring very low and 20 children scoring very high) on CMAS and teacher's ratings. The correlation was 0.85 for anxiety and 0.62 for lie score.

The CMAS contained 53 items of which 42 items measured anxiety and 11 items gave the lie score of the children. Space was provided on the sheet for the subjects to answer some questions regarding his age, sex, class, school, home address and parent's profession.

Parents' Attitude Research Instrument (PARI, adjusted)

A structured questionnaire was used to obtain multivariate measurement of attitudes toward child-rearing and the family. The questionnaire was designed to measure seven variables, namely, encouragement of verbalisation, marital conflict, strictness, age of training, fostering dependency, over-protection and punishment. To measure these variables, 28 items were developed based on the items of the PARI. The items were presented to ten judges to identify every item that seemed to represent a given variable. Inter-judge correlation was calculated to find out the highest agreement among the judges regarding the variables reflected in a given item. The item then was taken as a representative measure of the agreed variable. A brief description of the variables is given below:-

(1) High scores in the scale measuring encouragement of verbalisation seemed to reflect approval of a close relationship with a child who was permitted freedom to develop as an individual and also could express his views about family affairs and parent's behaviour towards him.
(2) High scores in the scale measuring attitude towards marital conflict reflected an expectation of a great deal of quarrelling and fighting between husband and wife and reflected hostility which was openly expressed.
(3) High scores in the scale measuring strictness revealed a demand for conformity to rigid rules.
(4) High scores in the scale measuring attitude towards age of training revealed a demand for achievement.
(5) High scores in the scale measuring attitude towards over-protection had a central theme of control of the child through keeping the child indebted to the mother, dependent and immature.
(6) High scores in the scale measuring attitude towards fostering dependency reflected a perception of the child as a weak person who must be protected by the mother.
(7) High scores in the scale punishment revealed an attitude that approved of the use of harsh punishment as a method of child training and thus reflected parental dominance.

The response for each item was expressed in a five-point scale–'strongly agree', 'agree', 'undecided', 'disagreed' and 'strongly disagree' and the subject was to choose one of these responses. The total score of each individual for every variable was determined by summing his/her response scores to all items representing a given variable.

Procedure

The CMAS was administered to the subjects in the classroom following a standard procedure. Then, two research assistants visited and administered to the mothers of the 500 subjects individually the adjusted parents' attitude research questionnaire.

RESULT

Difference between the Anxiety Responses of the Boys and Girls

In order to answer the question on whether there is any difference between the anxiety responses of boys and girls, the percentages of boys and girls falling in the three levels of anxiety were computed and the mean anxiety scores of the two groups were compared.

Table 1
Classification of Boys and Girls According to Their Levels of Anxiety (in Percentage) and Their Mean Anxiety Scores

Sex	N	Low Anxiety	Moderate Anxiety	High Anxiety	Mean Anxiety Score
Girls	250	16.40	58.80	24.80	20.79
Boys	250	26.80	60.40	12.80	18.02

Table 1 shows the percentages of boys and girls at the three levels of anxiety and their mean anxiety score. The results indicate that in comparison to boys, a higher percentage of girls do suffer from high anxiety and their mean anxiety score (20.79) is also higher than that of the boys (18.02). In short, the girls were found to be more anxious than the boys.

Table 2
Scales on Which Differences between Mothers of Low, Moderate and High Anxiety Children Were Significant

Scale	Mean			F	P
	Low Anxiety	Moderate Anxiety	High Anxiety		
Punishment	27.61	28.00	28.58	3.13	.05
Marital Conflict	22.83	24.37	26.17	27.07	.001
Over Protection	22.93	22.90	24.95	19.82	.001
Strictness	20.82	19.76	18.25	8.75	.001

Relationship between the Attitudes of Mothers Toward Child Rearing and Anxiety Reaction

For this purpose, the obtained scores were analysed, using the analysis of variance. Table 2 reports the scales in which significant differences were found between the mothers of high, moderate and low anxiety children. The mothers of three groups differed significantly on marital conflict, overprotection and strictness at the .001 level and on punishment at the .05 level. In all cases, except strictness, the mean scores of the mothers of high anxiety children were higher than the mean scores of the mothers of moderate and low anxiety children. However, on the scale for strictness, the mean scores of the mothers of low anxiety children exceeded the mean scores of the mothers of the other two groups.

Table 3 shows the scales on which mothers of low, moderate and high anxiety boys differed significantly from others of low, moderate and high anxiety girls. On the scale for fostering dependency, differences were significant at .05 level and on the scale for age of training, significant difference was found at .001 level. Results provided in Table 3 indicate that the higher the mothers' score on the scale for fostering dependency, the lower was the anxiety in girls. The opposite trend was found in the case of the boys. Results also indicated that the more positive the mothers' attitude towards early training, the lower was the anxiety in girls. Also, mothers of high anxiety boys scored higher than the mothers of low and moderate anxiety boys on this scale.

The scale encouragement of verbalisation failed to differentiate significantly between the mothers of low, moderate and high anxiety children.

Table 3
Scales on Which Mothers of Low, Moderate and High Anxiety Boys Differed Significantly from Mothers of Low, Moderate and High Anxiety Girls

Scale	Sex	Mean Low Anxiety	Mean Moderate Anxiety	Mean High Anxiety	F	P
Fostering Dependency	Girls	13.88	13.47	13.29	3.25	.05
	Boys	13.25	13.08	13.74		
Age of Training	Girls	12.04	11.85	11.51	8.82	.001
	Boys	11.03	11.56	12.37		

DISCUSSION

Examination of the results of the present study indicates that girls in the urban areas of Bangladesh are more anxious than their male counterparts. Our culture and social system are mainly responsible for these differences between the sexes. At birth, the female children are subjected to differential treatment. Girls are taught to conform, to be docile and to be dependent, whereas the boys are taught to succeed, to achieve and to be independent. The girls in our society have restricted freedom and are subjected to prejudices and religious biases. The girl's stereotype role is thus inferior to the boys and therefore undesirable. Lipsitt (1958) found that children with poor self-consepts were more anxious than children with good self-concepts. It is highly possible that girls having inferior sex-role may have poor self-concept and as a result, they are more anxious than the boys.

When the attitude of mothers of low, moderate and high anxiety children towards child-rearing were analysed, significant differences were found between them on the following scales – punishment, marital conflict, overprotection and strictness. It is found that the more punitive the mother, the higher is the anxiety in children. When the mothers use punishment as a technique of discipline, they show little sympathy or attempt to understand the child's behaviour and very often, anger accompanies punishment. As a result, the child feels the absence of a supportive and loving mother to whom he may turn for protection and succour, and thus suffers from insecurity and anxiety.

Mother of higher anxiety children were found to obtain the highest score on the scale 'marital conflict'. Unhappy and dissatisfied parents have difficulty in teaching their children good adjustment. Their tension hinders them from providing a relaxed easy going social situation in which the child can learn that interpersonal relationships are rewarding. Therefore, these children are likely to have tense unpleasant relation with other children which might result in creating further anxiety in them.

The results reveal that the higher the scores of the mothers on the scale for overprotection, the higher is the anxiety in the children. The overprotected children have great difficulty in maintaining friendship since other children are not so tolerant of their behaviour as their mothers are. Sometimes, they unsuccessfully use immature techniques to attract attention and are rejected by other children. Thus over-protection might cause anxiety in children.

The most interesting finding is that the more positive the mothers' attitude towards strictness, the lower is the anxiety in children. It may be argued that some degree of strictness is necessary for the proper development of a child. Baumrind (1967) suggests that authoritative parental control is desirable. If the parents are willing to impose restriction in areas in which they have greater knowledge or insight, such discipline gives the child the opportunity to explore his environment and interpersonal competence without the anxiety associated with the inexperience in conforming to the demands and needs of others associated with extreme permissiveness.

Further analysis of the results shows that when the mothers obtained high scores on the scale for fostering dependency, anxiety was the lowest amongst the girls but was highest amongst the boys. Our culture emphasises independence, initiative and success more for boys than girls. Girls are expected to conform whereas boys are expected to excel. So, when the mothers foster dependency in girls, it is consistent with social expectation and does not create anxiety amongst them. Higher scores on the scale for age of training indicate mothers' expectation that the child should reach developmental goals at an accelerated pace.

The present investigation shows that mothers emphasizing early training have girls with low anxiety but boys with high anxiety. It may be argued that as the physical development of girls takes place at a quicker pace than boys, they can satisfy their mothers by being trained at an accelerated rate, thus avoiding conflict and reducing anxiety. Boys, on the other hand, face difficulty in meeting their mothers' demand for early training and, therefore, show higher anxiety reactions.

Finally, it may be said that relationships between different factors need not necessarily be cause and effect relationships. One is tempted to conclude from the findings of this study that the mothers' attitudes toward child-rearing is one of the most important antecedent conditions for anxiety reactions in children. Therefore, modification of unfavourable attitudes of the parents toward child-rearing is recommended for minimising this unconstructive and undesirable emotional reaction.

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Identifying Mental Health Problems in Children**

Jayne G. Garside

There is an alarming increase in the incidence of children's suicides—ages 6 through 14 (puberty). Currently, the major ages of suicide in children are 14 to 21.

The majority of these suicides spring from mental health problems, most of which were never perceived of by the adult community. Usually, this non-perception is a result of the 'masking problems' children present such as the inability to do homework, false sensory images, illusions (usually based on some facts) and even delusions.

Mood and cognition are two adult variables but in children, behaviour or acting out give immediate cues as to potential mental health problems. It is said that suicidal thoughts in children are worse than in adults as children translate problem into immediate acting out. There is no time for alternative solutions. This paper deals with the most common mental health problems in children.

(1) Attention deficit disorders
(2) Pervasive developmental disorders
(3) Schizophrenic disorders
(4) Affective (emotional) disorders
(5) Adjustment disorders.

An added component presents techniques in the management of the most common type of mental health problems–attention deficit disorders. In this paper, theory and practical applications are mingled.

SYMPOSIUM II B : Interpersonal Relationships of Children and Adolescents

CHAIRPERSON *Ms Elizabeth Protacio-Marcelino*
RAPPORTEUR *Dr. E. P. Thavaraj*

Interpersonal Awareness, Peer Acceptance and Interpersonal Strategies: a Study of Preschool Children

Norman F. Kafer

INTRODUCTION

This paper reports data from an ongoing research programme in which the behaviour and perceptions of children who fail to interact successfully with their peers are explored. They behave as though they have not yet acquired the friendship skills appropriate to their particular age level. Within the programme, differences between children who have been classfied as neglected and rejected by their peers are examined. In so doing, it is argued (Kafer, 1982) that inappropriate behaviour can occur, not only because children are deficient in social skills but also because some have adopted defensive inter-personal strategies in response to a perceived inability to interact successfully with others. Such strategies are adopted as a means of avoiding failure in social situations. Thus, we see some children avoiding rejection by initiating fewer interactions, an avoidant strategy symptomatic of the neglected child. On the other hand, some children seemingly appear to misperceive and misinterpret the failure cues and continue to approach others even though their social overtures are ineffective, an approach strategy which can lead to further rejection. Avoidant and approach strategies, though obviously inappropriate, do serve a useful purpose for the child. Unfortunately, however, they can lead to the development of deficiencies in basic social skills (Kafer, 1981, 1983). As these strageties are learned, it is important to know at what stage of development children are capable of experiencing feelings of vulnerability in inter-personal relationships and feel the necessity to adopt defensive strategies.

As Kelvin (1977) has pointed out, a person's preferred level of vulnerability is an important organising principle in interpersonal interaction. Each person sets a limit on the degree of self disclosure that can be tolerated. Though any self disclosure can make the person vulnerable to interpersonal hurt, a high level of disclosure can be tolerated and even enhance a relationship if the risks are shared. That is, the two persons reveal equal amounts about themselves. The work of Selman (1981) suggests that when children begin to seek reciprocity (involving trust and mutual sharing) in their friendship expectations at about the age of six years, feelings of vulnerability would be related to a child's use of a defensive inter-personal strategy.

In a recent study (Shannon and Kafer, 1984), we examined this hypothesis and found that at the age of five and six years, children began to expect concepts of mutual sharing and trust to be a part of friendship and feel a belongingness to their peer world. Neglected children also included mutual sharing and trust in their friendship expectations but did not feel a similar belongingness. They were sensitive to the reactions of others and expressed feelings of vulnerability. The rejected child, on the other hand, though perceiving the importance of mutual sharing, did not regard trust as an important component of friendship. In addition, they did not perceive vulnerability as an issue and were not fully aware of their exclusion from the group. The data, however, did suggest that feeling of vulnerability rather than the acquisition of the concept trust which was the most important variable.

This study was designed to explore further the inter-relationships among the variables of:

(1) the acquisition of the concept of trust;
(2) the development of inter-personal awareness;
(3) vulnerability, and
(4) the adoption of defensive inter-personal strategies.

As the work of Selman (1981) suggests that children do not acquire the concept of trust before the age of five years, pre-school children were used in the study. Thus, the development of inter-personal awareness could also be examined by analysing the extent to which children's interpersonal interactions could be characterised by what Selman (1981) has described as here-and-now and one-way assistance expectations.

METHOD

A behaviour check list was used to select subjects into experimental group. Following this, each subject was asked to complete a short projective test and was finally interviewed.

Behaviour Check List

An inter-personal strategy of avoidant or approach was assessed by teachers' ratings on a Behaviour Check List which was adapted from Spence (1981). The check list contained 30 items, 18 of which were used in the present context, namely:

Is the child bullied frequently?
Is the child teased frequently?
Does the child avoid contact with peers?
Does the child find it hard or fail to talk to peers?
Does the child find it hard or fail to initiate conversations with peers?
Does the child find it hard or fail to ask others for help?
Does the child find it hard or fail to ask others whether he/she can join in a game?
Is the child verbally aggressive during conversations with peers?
Does the child tease other children inappropriately?
Is the child unpopular?
Does the child fail to make friends with peers?
Is the child ignored or neglected by his/her peers?
Is the child actively rejected by his/her peers?
Does the child talk too loudly?
Does the child talk too softly?
If rejected by others, does the child withdraw?
If rejected by others, does the child continue to interact?
Does the child have difficulty in keeping out of fights?

Teachers in two preschools completed the Behaviour Check List for 124 children (age range: 3 years 5 months to 4 years 11 months). This method was used to identity three groups:

(1) avoidant, defined as those children who were rated as unpopular, withdrawn and neglected by their peers (n = 25);
(2) approach, defined as those children who were rated as unpopular, showed inappropriate approach behaviours and were rejected by their peers (n = 10); and,
(3) a randomly selected control group (n = 35).

Vulnerability

Two subtests of the projective test, *The Self-Other-Orientation Tasks* (SOOT) (Long, Henderson and Ziller, 1973) were used to assess level of vulnerability. These are inclusion and identification. The first of these, inclusion, measures the development of social boundaries and the location of the self within rather than outside a social field. A person low in inclusion perceives the self as being outside the social world and tends to avoid intimate involvement. To measure the child's concept of inclusion, a series of circles are placed within and outside a social field. The subject is asked to nominate one of the circles to symbolise the self.

The second identification is related to the child's perception of the self as similar to significant others. To test for identification, a series of six circles are arranged horizontally on a page. The extreme left hand circle stands for a significant other (i.e. mother, father, teacher, friends) and the child is asked to nominate a circle representing the self. Identification is assessed by distance from the stimulus figure. To ensure validity, a number of extra test items from the SOOT were also included.

Reciprocity: Trust and Mutual Sharing

The interview approach developed by Selman (1981) and Selman and Jacquette (1977) was adapted and used to assess the extent to which the child used concepts of trust and whether relationships were described in terms of what Selman (1981) calls here-and-now or one-way assistance when describing relationships with an adult nominated by the child and with a friend. The basis of the interview lay in encouraging the child to elaborate on the following types of questions: 'Does ... trust you?' 'Tell me about a time wnen ... trusted you'. 'Do you trust ...?' 'Tell me about a time when you trusted ...?' 'What sort of things does ... do that please you?' 'What sort of things does ... do that make you angry?' 'What sort of things do you do that please...?' 'What sorts of things do you do that make ... angry?' A total of 53 children were interviewed: avoidant (n = 15); approach (n = 8); and control (n = 30).

RESULTS

The mean scores on the inclusion and identification subtests of the SOOT for each of the three groups are set out in Table 1.

Table 1
Mean Scores on Inclusion and Identification

Group	Inclusion	Identification			
		Mother	Father	Teacher	Friends
Avoidant	1.32	10.20	11.52	9.88	10.88
Approach	1.17	11.10	11.20	9.50	11.00
Control	2.06	11.34	12.03	10.66	11.63

One-way analysis of variance was used to examine for differences attributable to grouping for the inclusion and the three identification tests. A significant difference was found for inclusion (F (2,67) = 5.84, $p < .01$). No other results were significant. A Newman Keuls test was used to examine the nature of the significant difference attributable to the inclusion task. The results showed that the means could be ordered on a continuum of increasing magnitude, namely, avoidant ($x = 1.32$); approach ($\bar{x} = 1.7$); and control ($\bar{x} = 2.06$).

In the analysis of the transcripts of the interview data, only those responses which were considered relevant were included. The results are as follows:

Trust

When asked about this, most children agreed that they trusted or were trusted by another. However, further questioning showed that only seven children could attempt to answer why or give an example of when trust occurred. One child showed a grasp of the concept when she answered that she knew her mother trusted her 'because she let me sleep at my friend's house', and she could trust her friend because 'she always comes and plays'. Two children trusted their parents because 'they were big'. The remaining four children equated trust with love and liking.

Relationships With Adults

When questioned about the nature of a positive relationship with an adult, the children focussed on how they pleased the other and described 'good or helping' behaviours. For example, 'good girl'; 'eat my tea and be good'; 'help mummy'; 'not suck my thumb'; 'don't fight'; 'help mummy pick up things'. The number of children within each group who have such answers were: control = 20; avoidant = 6; approach = 1.

A 2x2X^2 analysis of the difference between the control and the unpopular group in being able to describe a positive relationship was significant ($X^2 = 5.466$, df 2, $p < .05$). The answers about negative relationships with adults also centred on the child's behaviour rather than that of the adult and were concerned about 'bad' behaviour, viz., 'Sucking my thumb'; 'being naughty'; 'not helping'; 'pinching and smacking mummy'. Groupings were:

Control = 10; Avoidant = 6; Approach = 1

A 2 x 2 X^2 analusis of the difference between the control and the unpopular group was not significant.

Relationships With Friends

Here, the answers fell into two distinct categories. The first of these reflected a here-and-now friendship stage in which 17 children saw 'playing with' another person as a basic positive relationship. Seven children, however, gave answers which suggested a one-way assistance stage e.g. 'do things for them'; 'make them laugh when I pull funny faces'; 'give me lollies'. A classification by group revealed the following:

Here-an-now: Control = 13; Avoidant = 3; Approach = 1
One-way assistance: Control = 6; Avoidant = 1; Approach = 0.

Cells were combined in order to compare differences between the control and the unpopular children in the ability to conceptualise a positive relationship with friends by a 2 x 2 X^2 analysis. Results were significant, $X^2 = 11.13$, df 2, $p < .01$.

Answers about negative relationships with friends also fell into the above two categories. Five children answered 'not playing'. However, thirteen children talked of a lack of a one-way assistance such as 'hit them'; 'break their things'; 'stamp on my feet and hit me'; 'take my things'; 'poke with sticks at them'. Classification by group showed:

Here-and-now: Control = 4; Avoidant = 0; Approach = 1
One-way assistance: Control = 8; Avoidant = 5; Approach = 0.

A X^2 analysis of combined cells showed no significant difference between the control and the unpopular group in the ability to conceptualise a negative relationship with friends.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study have important implications for those who seek to assist children develop the skills of friendship. They suggest that a child may begin to develop defensive interpersonal strategies at a very early age. Entering a preschool environment could be a critical period in a child's social development. Though we know that in general, children begin to learn their social skills within the family, the pre-school environment provides a wide range of new social learning situations in which children can develop their social skills. If for some reason, however, children have not yet learned the basic skills necessary for interaction with their peers, then the preschool environment can also provide a large number of potential social failures situations.

It has been argued (Kafer, 1982) that continual social failure can lead to children adopting a defensive interpersonal strategy in order to minimise the effects of social failure, namely, avoidant or approach. In addition, it has been shown (Shannon and Kafer, 1984) that the adoption of an interpersonal strategy is related to a child's feelings of vulnerability. This study shows that such feelings of vulnerability are also expressed by the preschool child. Children who expressed the highest degree of vulnerability were those who tended to withdraw from interaction with others, exhibited avoidant types of behaviour and were neglected by their peers. Children who adopted an approach strategy and were rejected expressed a comparatively lesser degree of vulnerability. Both groups, however, experienced a greater deal of vulnerability than those who were accepted by their peers.

It is interesting to note, however, that all children in the study were similar in the extent to which they identified themselves with relevance to others such as mothers, fathers, teachers and peers. The results of the study also clarified, to some extent, the relationship between social acceptance and the development of interpersonal awareness. The acquisition of the concept of trust did not appear to be an important factor. However, the definition of what one seeks in a position relationship, whether it be with a significant adult or a peer, appeared to be important. Of the children interviewed, none appeared to have progressed beyond the here-and-now or one-way assistance stages outlined by Selman (1981). However, a comparatively larger number of children who were least acceptable to their peers did not appear to have reached either of these stages. Visual inspection of these data suggests that those children who had adopted an approach strategy were less developed in terms of interpersonal awareness than those who had adopted an avoidance strategy. Such a suggestion is congruent with the analysis of the vulnerability scores. Since the number of approach subjects interviewed was small, such a suggestion can only at this stage remain a hypothesis for further testing.

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Co-operative and Competitive Behaviour Among School Children in Subcultural Groups of Thailand**

Pismai Wibulswadi

Cultural factors such as religion, ethnicity and cultural changes due to exposure to modernisation seemed to have contributed to differences in generosity-rivalry and co-operative-competitive behaviours among children.

The objectives of this study were to:

(1) Explore the differences in generosity-rivalry or co-operative-competitive behaviour among Thai children in rural, semi-rural and urban areas in Chiang Mai province, Northern Thailand.
(2) Compare the differences in co-operative and competitive behaviour between boys and girls.
(3) Examine the differences in generosity-rivalry or co-operative-competitive behaviour among children of three ethnic groups: Buddhist-Thai, Buddhist-Chinese and Muslim-Thai children.

The sample consisted of 120 schoolchildren (60 girls and 60 boys) who were randomly selected from primary schools in different areas of Chiang Mai and Krabi provinces. There were five subcultural groups of 24 subjects each: rural Thai, semi-rural Thai, urban Thai, Buddhist-Chinese in Chiang Mai and Muslim-Thai in Krabi.

A coin game was administered to the subjects of the five subcultural groups. The experiment consisted of ten cards on which circles were drawn. Each subject was offered the option of selecting either the left or right section to get the coin placed in the circles for himself and to give the other section to someone else. After the experiment, each child's choice was scored by categorising him into one of three possible behaviour patterns: generosity, self-maximisation or rivalry.

The chi–square method was used to analyse the data. The results obtained from the coin-game experiment indicated that rural Thai children performed significantly different in the experimental task than semi-rural and rural children. Thai rural children appeared to be significantly more generous than the other two subcultural groups ($p < .05$).

No significant differences in the degree of generosity-rivalry and co-operative-competitive behaviour were found between boys and girls in the total samples.

Buddhist-Thai children were slightly different from Buddhist-Chinese children in the degree of co-operation. However, when compared with those from the Muslim sample, both Buddhist samples were significantly different from the Muslim sample. Muslim children showed significantly more rivalry and competition in the coin-game experiment than did Buddhist children ($p < .01$).

The results were relatively consistent with previous psychological studies which demonstrated the profound cultural differences in the development of generosity-rivalry and co-operation-competition among children. The general social behaviour pattern that rural and non-western children performed more co-operatively in experimental tasks than did urban and Western children has been shown in many cross-cultural findings and these same findings have been supported in this study.

The findings tend to demonstrate that quite a few children show irrational competitive behaviour. This raises the question of the value of competition in future society and also suggests that the role of schools and teachers is to train children to co-operate in situations that require mutual assistance and compete in appropriate situations for the benefit of society.

Co-operation, Competition and Individualisation: a Longitudinal Study of the Learning Preferences of Australian Primary and Secondary School Students*

Lee Owens

INTRODUCTION

A decade ago, many educational psychologists were enthusiastically promoting the advantages of individualised learning. There were large-scale American programmes in operation called Individually Prescribed Instruction, Individually Guided Education, Personalised System of Instruction, and, notably, Mastery Learning. In the past ten years, however, attention has swung to methods of teaching that promote student interaction in the classroom. Such methods range from pairing students of different ages in a tutoring relationship (Bloom, 1976) to small groups of learners pursuing the common achievement of mutual goals by self-devised procedures (Johnson, 1980) and small groups mutually assisting members to learn set material in order to strive as a team to beat other team groups in achievement (Slavin, 1983). Co-operation and competition, therefore, have emerged as methods of using interaction among students to facilitate both the learning of subject matter and certain social skills and attitudes (Owens, in press).

BACKGROUND

Significant recent research has been conducted documenting the advantages and disadvantages of cooperation, competition, and individualisation in classroom learning. A series of studies in Australia has concentrated on the attitudes and preferences expressed for these three learning modes by students, teachers, and parents. With regard to the learning preferences of students, a series of studies has shown:

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(1) In the range from Year 4 to Year 12,[1] girls generally express greater preference for co-operative learning than boys, and boys generally express greater preference for competition and individualisation (Owens and Straton, 1980; Owens, 1983b).

(2). In general, preferences for competitive learning increase markedly with increasing year level and preferences for individualised learning decrease markedly with year level while preferences for co-operative learning show inconsistent trends (Owens and Straton, 1980; Owens, 1983b).

(3) In secondary schools, students generally express stronger preferences for co-operative learning in English than in Mathematics, although boys prefer more competitive contact in learning Mathematics and girls prefer more competitive contact in learning English (Owens and Barnes, 1982).

(4) When students with high co-operative learning preferences are compared with students with low co-operative learning preferences, their perceptions of classroom atmosphere contrast markedly in primary classes and secondary English classes, though not in secondary Mathematics classes (Owens and Barnes, 1982; Owens, 1983a).

(5) The early years of secondary school (Years 7–8) coincide with markedly higher preferences for competitive learning by boys but not consistently by girls (Owens and Straton, 1980; Owens, 1983b).

(6) The overall trends noted above characterise both Australian and American students but in direct comparison, American students have stronger preference for co-operative learning than Australian students, while the Australian students are more strongly in favour of competition and individualisation (Owens, 1983b).

In a broad sense, these findings are consistent with American data from a large survey of school districts in Minnesota (Johnson and Ahlgren, 1976; Johnson, Johnson and Anderson, 1978). These data, gathered on a schoolwide basis, show that co-operative attitudes are positively correlated with a pleasant regard for school personnel, intrinsic motivation, helpful attitudes toward peers, open expression of ideas and feelings, and self-esteem. Individualistic attitudes are negatively related to open expression of ideas, feelings and self-esteem while being unrelated to the remaining traits.

A limitation of the studies from which these Australian and American data have been obtained is the cross-sectional research design i.e. at the same time, different subsamples of students were tested at each year level. In a time of rapid social change, the possibility exists that older students have had a different upbringing or educational experience than younger students, even though just a few years in age separate them. The findings may be confounded, therefore, by unidentified differences between groups of students other than simply year at school. To test this, a longitudinal design was employed in the present study to gather learning preference data from the same group of Sydney school students over an interval of two years. Significantly, the data-gathering spanned the crucial period of transfer from primary to secondary school and the two major examination years in secondary schooling in New South Wales.[2]

METHOD

Instrument

Preferences for co-operative, competitive and individualised learning modes were obtained by means of the *Learning Preference Scale – Students* (LPSS). Developmental work on an early version of the LPSS (Form B) has demonstrated factorial validity, internal consistency and test-retest stability (Owens and Straton, 1980). In the current version of the LPSS (Form C), there are 36 items, brief statements about a feature of learning by co-operating with others, competing with others, or working alone (Barnes, Owens, Straton, 1978). Items referring to each of these learning modes are content-matched in 11 groups and one additional group contains unmatched items. Each content group, therefore, contains three matched items and each preference subscale in the LPSS, therefore, is composed of twelve items. Students respond to each item by indicating how 'true' or how 'false' the statement is for them. A 4-point answer scale is used, with the response categories 'completely true', 'more true than false', 'more false than true', and 'completely false'. Three of the twelve items in each subscale are expressed in negative phrasing to counteract the acquiescence effect. Numerical values are assigned to the answer on a 4-3-2-1 basis, with 4 representing the strongest preference. Three main preference subscale scores (min. 12, max. 48) are calculated for each student, indicating strength of preference for co-operative, competitive and individualised learning situations. In addition, two involvement indices are calculated. Combined involvement is obtained by adding the co-operative and competitive subscale scores; this is an indication of desire for contact with others during the learning process. Co-operative involvement is obtained by subtracting the competitive subscale score from the co-operative score; this is an indication of the relative strength of the co-operative preference within the general desire for contact with others in learning.

Reliability of the three subscales has been assessed by means of Cronbach & coefficients (Table 1). The calculations indicate a substantial degree of internal consistency for each of the subscales both in the initial instrument and in its revised form.

Table 1

Reliability Data (Cronbach) for the Co-operative, Competitive, and Individualised Learning Preference Subscales of the LPSS

Form	Grade Level		LPSS Subscales		
			Co-operation	Competition	Individualised
Form B	Overall		0.81	0.66	0.74
42 items	Years 4–6	(N = 697)	0.67	0.64	0.68
(N = 1,643)	Years 7–9	(N = 597)	0.70	0.72	0.72
	Years 10–11	(N = 349)	0.71	0.71	0.64
Form C	Overall		0.73	0.71	0.68
(N = 1,814)	Years 5–6	(N = 545)	0.73	0.69	0.68
	Years 7–9	(N = 502)	0.74	0.72	0.68
	Years 10–12	(N = 747)	0.74	0.73	0.68

This consistency does not vary noticeably in comparison of students in grouped school years (upper primary, lower secondary, upper secondary).

SAMPLE

The sample of students for the initial phase of the study (Time 1) was drawn from one state primary school and a neighbouring high school selected from each of four separate suburbs in the western metropolitan area of Sydney. All schools were co-educational and comprehensive, and the group provided a population with a broadly representative socio-economic background and with a relatively low non-English-speaking migrant population. In all, 1,814 students responded to the LPSS at grade levels ranging from Year 5 to Year 12. In the smaller primary schools, all students in a year were tested; in the larger high schools, classes were selected in each year and low ability remedial classes were avoided.

The retesting in the second phase of the study (Time 2) required locating as many of the original sample as could be found in the four high schools. Naturally, all the students tested previously in the four primary schools had proceeded to high school by this time, most of them to the neighbouring schools in which the initial testing had been done. In all, complete data were compiled from the two testing occasions for 779 students.

PROCEDURE

On both testing occasions, the data were gathered personally by the author and two research assistants in a series of visits to the schools. On the first occasion (Time 1), the testing was carried out during the first term of the school year (April) as part of a much larger research programme that required repeated visits to the schools later during the year. On the second occasion, two years later (Time 2), the testing occurred during the second term of the school year (June) with no further visits foreshadowed. For 84 students at Time 1 (11% of the sample), data were obtained during the second term of the school year (August). Therefore, for most of the sample, the elapse time between testing occasions was two years and two months, leaving a smaller number with one year and ten months. All computations and analyses were carried out by procedures given in the *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences* (SPSS; Nie *et al.*, 1975; Hull and Nie, 1981) as adapted to the Cyber 825 computer in the University of Sydney.

RESULTS

Data were gathered on two occasions from boys and girls in six primary and secondary school years. In processing the data. the SPSS procedure used was the Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) applied to repeated measures experimental design since the same observations were made twice for each subject. The result is a 6 (School Year) x 2 (Sex) x 2 (Time) MANOVA analysis. In the following description of results, significant findings $p < .05$ are selected for comment. Findings representing interesting trends listed in the MANOVA tables $.05 > p < .10$ are not commented upon until the subsequent section on discussion.

MAIN SUBSCALE SCORES

In the analysis of preferences for co-operative learning (Tables 2 and 3), girls show a stronger orientation to co-operative learning than boys both at Time 1 and at Time 2. Students at Time 2 are more inclined toward co-operation than they were originally at Time 1.

In preferences for competitive learning, boys show a stronger orientation than girls on both testing occasions. In addition, there are marked increases in competitive learning preferences with school year. In preferences for individualised learning, the only significant finding is that the orientation is stronger at the time of the initial testing than at the later testing.

COMPUTER INDEX SCORES

The Co-operative Involvement index scores (Co-operative minus Competitive) is an indication of the relative strength of co-operative and com-

Table 2
Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for the Co-operative, Competitive and Individualised Subscales (LPSS) for Two Testing Occasions

Year	Sex	Sample size	Co-operation				Competition				Individualisation			
			Time 1		Time 2		Time 1		Time 2		Time 1		Time 2	
		N	$\overline{X}$	SD	$\overline{X}$	SD	$\overline{X}$	SD	$\overline{X}$	SD	$\overline{X}$	SD	$\overline{X}$	SD
5	(7)	141	35.2	6.8	37.4	5.2	34.1	6.1	34.5	5.8	35.4	6.7	34.1	6.3
	Boys	66	33.9	7.1	36.2	5.5	34.3	6.0	35.1	5.7	36.1	6.8	34.6	7.1
	Girls	75	36.5	6.3	38.4	4.9	34.0	6.3	33.9	5.9	34.8	6.6	33.8	5.5
6	(8)	152	36.8	5.0	37.6	5.7	35.0	5.9	35.2	5.3	34.6	5.7	33.3	4.8
	Boys	78	35.8	4.9	36.6	6.4	35.3	5.9	35.2	5.5	34.8	5.7	33.2	4.5
	Girls	74	38.0	4.9	38.6	4.8	34.7	5.8	35.3	5.2	34.3	5.9	33.5	5.1
7	(9)	198	37.3	5.6	37.4	5.6	36.0	5.4	36.3	6.3	34.6	5.6	33.3	5.9
	Boys	99	36.8	5.6	36.3	5.3	36.2	5.3	37.1	6.4	34.7	5.5	32.8	5.5
	Girls	99	37.9	5.5	38.5	5.6	35.8	5.5	35.5	6.1	34.5	5.8	33.8	6.2
8	(10)	68	36.5	5.6	36.7	5.5	35.8	4.9	36.7	5.9	34.4	5.8	35.5	5.4
	Boys	39	36.7	5.4	35.4	6.4	35.9	4.3	38.6	5.9	34.5	4.7	35.8	4.9
	Girls	29	36.3	5.8	37.6	4.6	35.8	5.5	35.3	5.6	34.3	6.5	35.3	5.9
9	(11)	101	37.3	5.0	37.4	6.6	36.6	5.9	36.9	5.8	34.7	5.6	33.5	6.1
	Boys	54	36.7	5.1	37.2	6.7	38.4	5.7	37.6	6.0	35.2	5.5	33.0	6.9
	Girls	47	38.1	4.7	37.7	6.5	34.7	5.5	35.9	5.4	34.0	5.7	34.0	5.0
	10	119	38.0	5.3	37.8	4.9	37.0	5.7	37.6	5.9	35.0	4.8	34.9	5.1
	Boys	52	36.6	5.4	36.9	5.2	38.8	5.2	38.5	5.4	35.8	4.5	35.2	4.9
	Girls	67	39.0	5.1	38.4	4.6	35.7	5.7	36.9	6.2	34.5	5.0	34.6	5.2

Table 3

School Year x Sex x Time MANOVA's of the Co-operative, Competitive and Individualised Learning Preference Subscale Scores (LPSS)

Source		Co-operation			Competition			Individualisation		
	df	MS	F	P	MS	F	P	MS	F	P
Between Subjects										
Sex	1	480	12.4	< .01	497	10.9	< .01	23.1	< 1	ns
School Year	5	72.1	1.9	.10	316	6.9	.01	64.9	1.5	ns
Sex x Year	5	71.1	1.8	.10	62.5	1.4	ns	22.2	< 1	ns
$Error_b$	767	38.6			45.6			42.8		
Within Subjects										
Time	1	135	5.5	.02	29.8	1.5	ns	173	7.7	<.01
Time x Sex	1	79.3	3.2	.08	3.6	< 1	ns	38.5	1.7	ns
Time x Year	5	54.0	2.2	.06	10.1	< 1	ns	33.2	1.5	ns
Time x Sex x Year	5	14.1	< 1	ns	27.0	1	ns	1.5	< 1	ns
$Error_w$	767	24.9			20.4			22.4		

petitive preferences. On both testing occasions, the girls had significantly higher scores than the boys, indicating greater preference for co-operative rather than competitive learning. The Combined Involvement index score (Co-operative plus Competitive) is an indication of the desire for contact with others during learning (Table 4). This desire is significantly stronger at higher grade levels than at lower grade levels and is more noticeable at the time of later testing than at the earlier testing.

DISCUSSION

To facilitate comprehension of the statistical analysis, a set of graphs has been prepared (Fig. I–V) which display overall learning preference change between Time 1 and Time 2 across the range of school years and display separately the same data for girls and boys. Discussion of the statistically significant results proceeds against the background of these graphic displays. Trends and connections are more easily seen in this way. The implications of the findings form the final portion of the discussion.

Girls overwhelmingly express stronger preferences for co-operative learning than boys do. In 11 of the 12 School Year x Time groups (Table 4), the girls' mean is higher. For both sexes combined, scores at Time 2 are higher than scores at Time 1, especially in the Year 5–7 and Year 6–8 comparisons (Fig. Ia). This trend continues for girls in the Year 7–9 and Year 8–10 comparisons (Fig. Ib) but the trend is reversed for boys in these year groups (Fig. Ic). Generally, entry to secondary school is associated with an increase in preferences for co-operative learning. This trend is maintained by girls for all four years of the lower secondary program (Years 7–10) but in contrast, the boys' co-operative learning preferences decline between Year 7 and Year 10.

The preferences by boys for competitive learning are just as overwhelming as those by girls for co-operative learning. In 11 of the 12 School Year x Time groups, the boys' mean scores are higher than the girls'. Competitive preference scores increase steadily throughout the secondary school years (Fig. IIa). The differences between Time 1 and Time 2 are particularly strong for boys in the junior years at the stage of preparation for the School Certificate in Years 9–10. In comparison, however, the Time differences for girls do not occur until the senior years at the stage of preparation for the Higher School Certificate in Years 11–12 (Fig. IIb and IIc).

There is a general trend for fewer preferences for individualised learning between Time 1 and Time 2 (Fig. IIIa), especially for boys (Fig. IIIc). However, in the year 8–10 comparison which coincides with the School Certificate examinations, both boys and girls express stronger preferences for individualised learning (Fig. IIIb, IIIc).

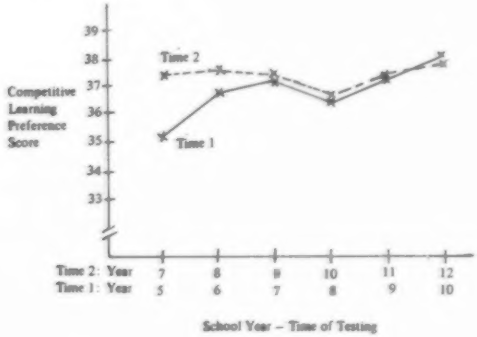
Given the distinctly different sex preferences for co-operative and competitive learning noted above, it is no surprise to find that generally

Table 4

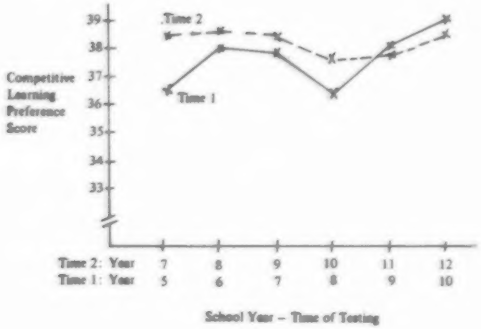
School Year x Sex x Time MANOVA's of the Co-operative Involvement Index and Combined Involvement Index (LPSS)

Source	df	MS	F	P	MS	F	P
Between Subjects							
Sex	1	3122	35.8	< .01	127	1.4	ns
School Year	5	153	1.8	ns	650	7.1	< .01
Sex x Year	5	44.5	< 1	ns	124	1.4	ns
Error$_b$	767	87.2			91.7		
Within Subjects							
Time	1	20.2	< 1	ns	237	6.2	.01
Time x Sex	1	4.3	< 1	ns	2.9	< 1	ns
Time x Year	5	64.5	1.7	ns	61.8	1.6	ns
Time x Sex x Year	5	75.9	2.0	.07	7.8	< 1	ns
Error$_w$	767	37.3			38.2		

(a) TOTAL



(b) GIRLS



(c) BOYS

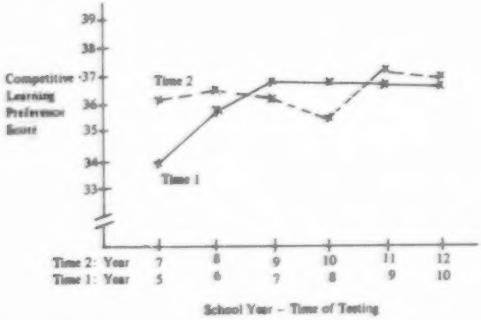
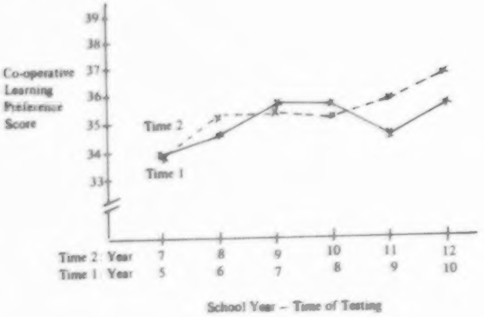
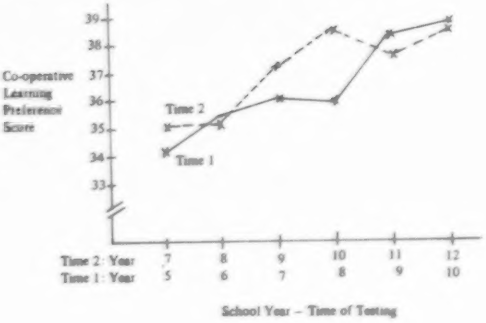


Figure I: Co-operative Learning Preference Scores for Australian Primary and Secondary School Students Obtained Twice With a Two-Year Interval.

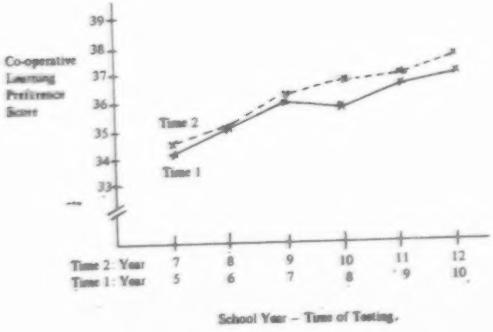
(b) GIRLS



c) BOYS

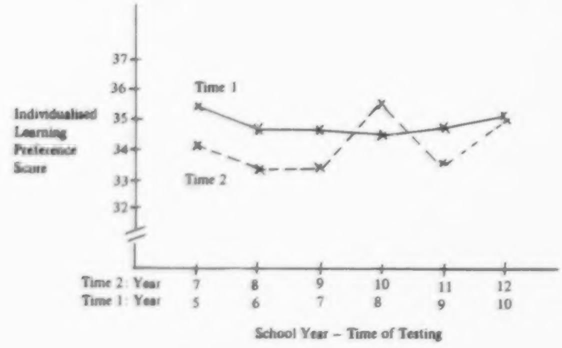


(a) TOTAL

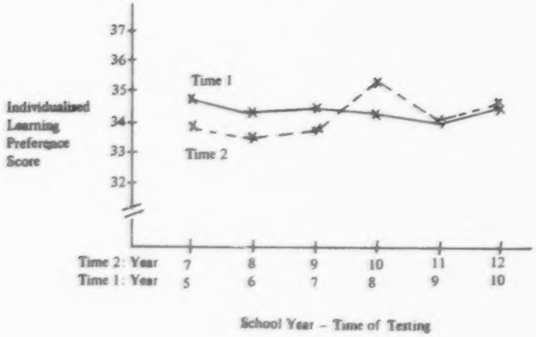


igure II: Competition Learning Preference Scores for Australian rimary and Secondary Students Obtained Twice With a Two-Year nterval

(a) TOTAL



(b) GIRLS



(c) BOYS

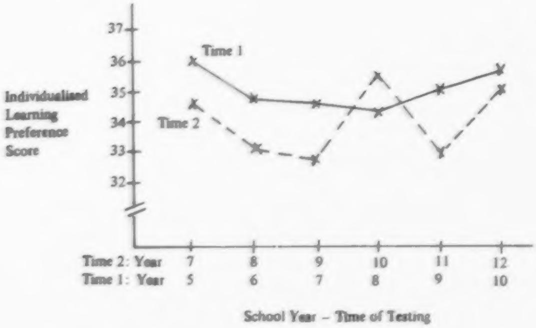
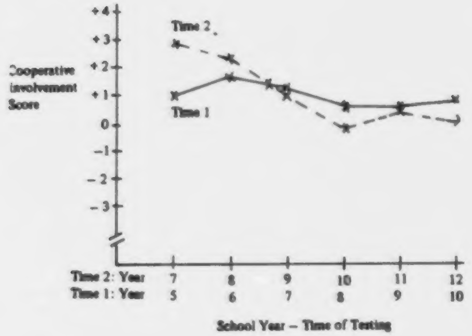
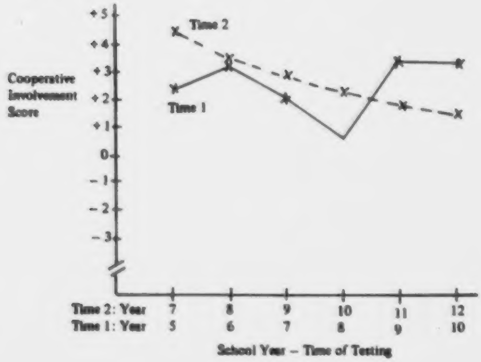


Figure III. Individualised Learning Preference Score for Australian Primary and Secondary School Students Obtained Twice With a Two-Year Interval

(a) TOTAL



(b) GIRLS



(c) BOYS

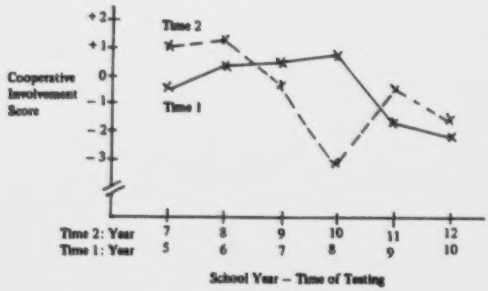
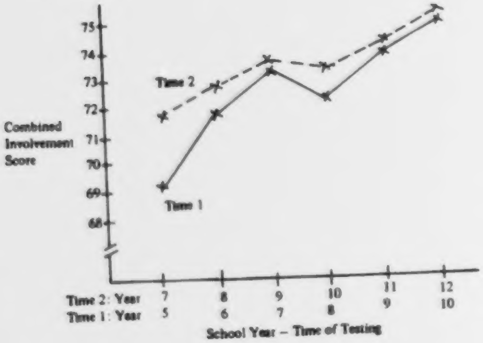
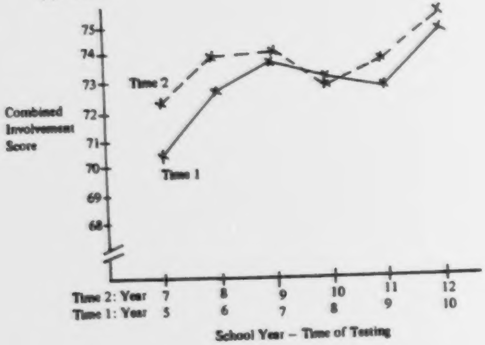


Figure IV: Co-operative Involvement Index Scores for Australian Primary and Secondary Students Obtained Twice With a Two-Year Interval

(a) TOTAL



(b) GIRLS



(c) BOYS

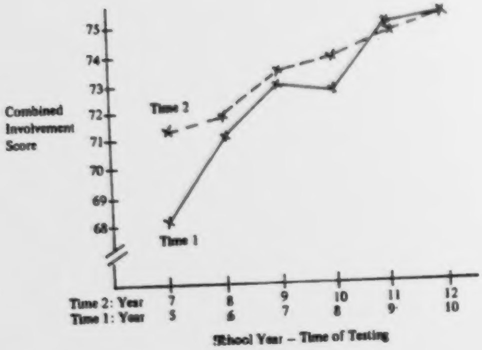


Figure V: Combined Involvement Index Scores for Australian Primary and Secondary School Students Obtained Twice With a Two-Year Interval

co-operative involvement is strongly favoured by the girls. There are opposite trends at work for the two sexes at two stages in their secondary schooling g. However, as girls approach the School Certificate examinations, they prefer competitive learning to co-operative learning but this preference is reversed in the final two years (Fig. IVc).

Combined Involvement scores rise steadily with year at school and are much stronger at Time 2 than Time 1. Girls' scores seem to reach the level at which they will remain by Year 8 (Fig. Vb). Boys' scores, on the other hand, rise with each successive year in high school due principally to the rapid increase in competitive learning preference (Fig. Vc).

Drawing the separate findings together, the following picture emerges of progression from primary through secondary schooling in a major city in New Southe Wales. In their primary school years, girls are more strongly oriented towards co-operative learning than boys are and this trend continues through high school. The senior years of high school and the preparation for the Higher School Certificate examinations (Year 12) dampen this enthusiasm somewhat. Boys, on the other hand, lose their enthusiasm for co-operative learning at least two years earlier, coinciding with preparation for the School Certificate examination (Year 10).

Preference for competitive and individualised learning are not necessarily connected with preferences for co-operative learning. It is neither conceptually valid to regard co-operation and competition/individualisation as opposite ends of the same dimension of behaviour nor have the items in the LPSS been written to force a choice between any two alternatives i.e. the three subclasses are independent of each other. Nevertheless, the competitive and individualised preferences expressed by the students present a marked contrast to those for co-operation. Overall, the level of competitive preferences increases steadily between primary school and the end of high school while the level of individualised preferences declines. Boys respond to the stress of the School Certificate with abruptly elevated preferences both for competition and individualised work; girls see the benefit of individualisation at this point but do not opt strongly for competition until the subsequent final two years of school.

Social commentators on the experience of secondary schooling remark on the overwhelmingly competitive nature of interpersonal contact among students in schools as they now exist. In the USA, for example, the Johnsons observe that:

> ... our society is filled with alienated children, teenagers, and young adults, yet within schools competitive and individualistic efforts are emphasized ... (and) ... current estimates are that over 85 percent of instruction within schools involves lectures, individualised seatwork, or competition where students are isolated from one another, forbidden to interact, and pitted against each other (1983).

We, in Australia, sometimes sit smugly by, watching analysts of cultures overseas, typically the Americans, tearing themselves to pieces while congratulating ourselves on having avoided the problem. An obvious premise of our own state education systems, however, is that only the 'winners' may proceed from year to year with any noticeable encouragement and the 'losers' are to be counselled to leave school as soon as they are able, and the earlier we identify who are to be the 'winners' and who are to be the 'losers', the better it is for all concerned (Wright and Headlam, 1976). In the words of R. Reed, a former senior administrator of education in Victoria, one of our largest states: 'Our secondary schools have become the most competitive institutions in Australia, compared with which the celebrated rate race of industry and commerce is like a picnic handicap for field mice'.

There is now ample research which demonstrates that the competitive/individualistic ethos in schools does not result in superior achievement nor in constructive social learning (Johnson *et al.*, 1981; Johnson *et al.*, 1983). Yet the traditional procedures of schooling continue with teachers and policy makers apparently oblivious to modern research.

The transfer from primary school to secondary school is a crucial event in the lives of most school children. Much has been made of the enormity of the changes in daily routine for a 12 year-old; large, crowded premises, numerous separate subjects, highly specialised subject matter, increased homework intimidation by older students, and strict and unpleasant relationships with teachers. Evidence in Australia, at least, is that on the surface, the general stress of the transfer may be less dramatic than formerly was supposed (Trebilco *et al.*, 1977) and the primary students' worst fears about the transfer are frequently not confirmed (Cotterell, 1979). At a covert level, however, the socialising process involved in high school entry is a powerful and pervasive one. Evans has described the process of integration for first-year high school students as a series of stages, each contributing directly to the next in the process (1983). First is the student's *overall satisfaction*, 'feelings of worth and competence in the new environment'. This contributes directly to identification, 'feeling at home in the school', and to *willingness to be involved*, purposeful participation in school activities. The outcome of these three stages during the first year is norm convergence, 'the adoption of values held by others in the environment, particularly those of others more advanced in the process of integration.' A basic 'norm' in high school, as is evident in this current research study and the others associated with it, is the acceptance of the competitive/individualistic ethos as both essential for the functioning of the school and effective in producing outcomes which help students meet their academic needs. Both of these grounds for 'norm convergence' can be questioned but that is beyond the scope of the present paper. What is now more obvious than ever is that the convergence has a different impact on boys than it does on girls. Boys accept the competitive norm much more quickly than girls do in the first few years of high school while girls maintain the co-operative orientation of their younger years. This may be linked with the expectation by boys, especially that older students at high school are quite likely to tease, bully, and physically shove the younger students around (Cotterell, 1979). High school has the appearance of a jungle in which the aggressive survive and the meek do not. Competitiveness, therefore, is a survival skill.

It is not only the overall response to the norm of competition in which boys and girls differ, however. In the initial selection of school subjects for study and in the continued study of these subjects, it seems to be a worldwide phenomenon that girls avoid advanced or complex mathematics courses (Fennema and Sherman, 1977; Keeves, 1973; Walsh, 1979). It has been shown that mathematics is not seen as offering opportunities for co-operative learning and that boys particularly enjoy the sense of competitive learning than do teachers of other high school subjects (Owens, 1983c). In Australia, at least, these teachers are far more likely to be male than female. When the time comes for students to choose courses for further study in the senior years, girls – disinclined to favour competitiveness in learning, and faced with male teachers as well as subject matter that seems orientated to competitiveness – opt out and transfer their enthusiasm to other subjects.

The implications and alternatives for the makers of educational policy have been presented elsewhere (Owens, 1983c). It seems clear, however, that the pervasive competitiveness of secondary schooling has a negative impact on girls generally but, in particular, on their selection (and avoidance) of certain subjects which may eventually limit their job choices and entry to certain professions after leaving school. In this way, male domination of key functions in society is perpetuated and 'equality of opportunity' seems somewhat hollow as a philosophical tenet of public policy.

1. In all Australian states, the standard term 'year' has been adopted in preference to 'grade' to refer to a level of schooling in primary and secondary education.
2. Primary schooling in New South Wales is seven years in length, beginning with a kindergarten year when the child is five years old.

	Year			
	1 2	3 4 5 6	7 8 9 10	11 12
			Secondary School	
Kindergarten	Infant School	Primary School	School Certificate	High School Certificate

The transition from infants classes to primary classes occurs within the same school grounds but the transfer to secondary school is a major relocation into different buildings entirely with a group of students drawn from several primary schools. Secondary schooling has two major sections, four years of lower secondary education for all students (to year 10) and two additional upper secondary years for some (currently about 50% of the Year 10 students continue with their education). The School Certificate Examination (Year 10) is partly externally assessed (in all other subjects). The Higher School Certificate Examination (Year 12) is an external public examination. Tertiary institutions use the results as entry criteria to various faculties and programmes, and employers place great emphasis on the results in making decisions about whom to hire.

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SYMPOSIUM II C : The Special Child

CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor Azman Wan Chik*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mrs. Khairiah Ahmad*

Adjustment and Personality Patterns in Normal and Problem Children**

Gurvinder Kaur Khaneja and Gopa Bharawaj

The present investigation was carried out to find the relationship between adjustment and personality of normal and problem children. The hypothesis set up were:

Hypothesis 1: Adjustment and personality will emerge as two separate and distinct factors in both groups.
Hypothesis 2: Adjustment factor and personality factor will show different correlation patterns in normal and problem children.
Hypothesis 3: Overall scores of problem children in both areas of personality and adjustment will be different from that of normal children.

The sample consisted of 40 normal female students and 60 maladjusted female students. The ages of the subjects ranged from 13 to 15 years. These categories of normal and maladjusted students were based on their academic records, report books, medical reports and biographical data.

Cattell's Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire was used to measure personality dimensions of the students while Bell's Adjustment Inventory was used to assess the student's adjustment.

The questionnaire and inventory were administered in two sessions during regular class meetings. Results of the research are:

(1) When personality factors were compared with adjustments, significant differences were observed.

(2) In normal and problem children, home and health adjustment remained as separate and distinct factors. No significant differences were observed in emotional adjustments in both groups of subjects.

(3) Normal and problem children showed different trends where social adjustment and personality came out as two different factors but in the normal group of children, these two variables did not appear as separate factors.

(4) Home and health adjustment was not correlated to personality variables for both normal and problem children. In relation to emotional and social adjustment, there were some correlation with personality variables for normal children but correlation was negligible for problem children.

(5) For all the factors of adjustment, the means of problem children were always higher than those of normal children. The means of the personality variables showed a similar trend.

Adjustment Problems of the Visually Handicapped*

Chua Tee Tee

INTRODUCTION

This study represents an exploratory attempt to measure the emotional and social adjustment of visually-handicapped adolescents in Malaysia. Many writings in the past have been for the most part highly speculative and descriptive, and earlier studies on the emotional and social aspects of blindness have been hampered by serious conceptual and methodological problems (Cown *et al.*, 1961).[1] Recent studies, however, have been based on more appropriate concepts of adjustment including the *unfortunate person, minority group status, marginality* or *overlapping psychological roles*, and *new psychological situations*, and research methodology has now included personal interview methods, direct behavioural assessments and longitudinal studies.

PRUPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of the current study is three-fold:

(1) Assess the self-concept of visually handicapped school students in a special residential school in Kuala Lumpur;

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(2) Identify the number of students with good adjustment and poor adjustment behavioural traits;
(3) Study the extent of self-concept discrepancy which may be defined as the difference (if any) between self-concept and the concept of the way a person would like to be.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There is a paucity of local empirical research on this subject. A study of 31 visually handicapped students schooling in three regular secondary schools in Malaysia seems to suggest that they 'socialise well' both with sighted and also with their visually handicapped peers (Filmer Jr., 1982).[2]

A related problem area of adjustment for the visually handicapped is in the attitude of sighted people towards the blind. Based on a questionnaire survey of 38 nurses attending a Public Health Course in Kuala Lumpur, the devaluating and negative attitudes of the sighted public towards blind people have been confirmed (Chua, 1972).[3] About 87% of the nurses agree that the worst thing about blindness is the attitude of the sighted towards the blind rather than the sheer loss of vision; half of them doubt that they can ever be really happy if they are blind; 60% believe that certain jobs should be set aside for blind persons where they do not have to complete with sighted people; 45% advocate sheltered workshops for them and about two-thirds would avoid using the word 'blind' while talking to a person who is blind. Fallacies are also confirmed in the study. About half the number of nurses believe that people who are born blind tend to develop similar traits, more than half of them think that the blind have universal musical gifts while 42% hold the view that 'a few blind people are more susceptible to mental illness than the sighted.' The lack of counselling facilities for the visually handicapped in Malaysia, as part of the adjustment process, has also been highlighted (Chua, 1980).[4]

A few related research studies have been conducted in the Philippines. In 1965, Capeda[5] investigated into local Filipino attitudes toward blindness and found that the incidence of rejection observed in responses of mothers of sighted pupils was significantly higher than that found in responses of mothers of blind pupils. Also the incidence of aggression observed in responses of mothers of blind pupils was significantly higher than that found in responses of mothers of sighted pupils. Capeda in that study has also found that the 'more common Asian situation where the pattern of the family with a blind child is to hide the blind even from the view of the closet relations, regarding that child as evidence of guilt, sin, and punishment' as existed in Pakistan (Grant, 1963)[6] does not apply in the Philippines context (Philippines, 1966)[7].

Tormon (1968)[8], in his investigation into the integration of visually impaired children in the regular class in the Philippines, concludes that 'the blind and other visually-handicapped children can perform almost all the activities of the sighted.' This generalised statement concurs with western research findings 'that, except for the area of arithmetic computation, the blind equalled the normally sighted of their grade level' (Hurder, 1973)[9].

In his investigation of sex education at the Philippines National School for the Blind, Rosell (1971)[10] concluded that 'the allegation that blind adults in a residential school tend to develop homosexuality can now be questioned.' However, the writer cautions about the findings of this particular study as the sample used was extremely small as it was made up of only 5 boys and 5 girls.

INSTRUMENTATION

A modified form of the 'Self-Ideal Sort Items with Direction of Adjustment' developed by Cowen *et al.* (1961)[11] has been used. This instrument has the following advantages:

(1) It is appropriate for use by a visually handicapped sample as well as by a sighted one.

(2) It measures self-perceptions and self-regarding attitudes which help to determine the nature of adjustment.

(3) The 60 self-sort items are made up of 10 groups of 6 items each, 3 'good adjustment' and 3 'poor adjustment' items thus, making a total of 30 'good adjustment' and 30 'poor adjustment items. Each subject has been asked to rate each item on a 5-point scale, i.e. '5' if the statement is most like him and '1' if the statement is least like him and '3' if he is not sure.

(4) The 60 self-sort items are subsequently used as ideal-sort items, again rated on a 5-point scale i.e. '5' if the statement is *most* like the subject's ideal person, '1' if the statement is *least* like the subject's ideal person and '3' if the subject is not sure. The discrepancy measure is determined by summing, without respect to sign, the absolute differences for the full series of ratings between self-concept and ideal-self. The higher the discrepancy score, the greater is the assumed conflict and tension and the more maladjusted the respondents.

The questionnaire appears in both *Bahasa Malaysia* (Malay Language) and English. For the sample of blind students, it is provided in braille form. They are to mark the appropriate items in pencil without revealing their names.

SAMPLE

A total of 59 (55.1%) out of 107 visually handicapped students at the residential Setapak Secondary School for the Blind, Kuala Lumpur, completed the two questionnaires. This represents about 32% of the total visually-handicapped population in secondary schools in Peninsular Malaysia. The relatively low percentage of participation was due to the following:

(1) The school authorities thought that the questionnaire administration would take place on 31.1.84 instead of on 30.1.84.

(2) Absenteeism was probably higher because the Chinese New Year holidays fell in that week.

(3) Questionnaire forms returned by nine students had to be rejected because most of the items were not marked.

The sample is made up of about two-thirds male, about 80% Malays and 19% Chinese, 71.2% aged 12–17 years, 59.3% in the lower secondary, 52.5% with total loss of vision or with light perception only, and just over a third schooling in regular sighted schools with the rest in the residential special school (Table 1).

Table 1

Nature of Visually Handicapped Students Responding To the Questionnaires (N = 59)

Sex	Male	40	(67.8%)
	Female	19	(32.2%)
Ethnicity	Malay	47	(79.7%)
	Chinese	11	(18.6%)
	Indian	1	(1.7%)
	Other	0	
Age (years)	12–14	6	(10.2%)
	15–17	36	(61.0%)
	18–20	17	(28.8%)
	21 and above	0	
Grade	Lower secondary (Form I–III)	35	(59.3%)
	Upper secondary (Form IV–V)	24	(40.7%)
Amount of Vision	Total loss or light perception only	31	(52.5%)
	Partial/travel vision	28	(47.5%)
Type of Schooling	Residential Special	38	(64.4%)
	Integrated	21	(35.6%)

DATA ANALYSIS

The responses to the 60 self-sort questionnaire items together with variables on sex, ethnicity, age, level of schooling, amount of visual loss and type of schooling were subjected to a frequency count. Subjects who rate themselves as '4' and '5' on a particular item are assumed to have the particular behavioural trait while those who mark '1' and '2' are assumed to have an absence or a lack of that behavioural trait. Those who mark '3' are considered to be non-commital and are included with those who have not responded to the item (marked '0' in the computer printout).

The discrepancy (if any) in responses to the self-sort and ideal-sort items has been computed manually using the completed computer cards. For this purpose, '0' on the computer card is given a '3' rating.

FINDINGS

Self-Concept

As indicated in Table 2 for Group I items, the blind students appear to be well adjusted, with ratings well above the mean of 2.5 and with the highest frequencies of responses at 5 for each of the 3 'good adjustment items' – enjoying being with the opposite sex, standing up for what they think is right and usually liking people. Two 'poor adjustment' items – a feeling that people are unfriendly, avoiding facing problems – correspondingly receive the lowest rating. However, we should feel a little concern for the 28 blind students (47.5%) who are 'afraid of a full-fledged disagreement with a person' which is considered a poor adjustment item in the United States. Anyway, this may reflect a Malaysian or Asian mentality rather than that of a visually-handicapped group. There is a need for some help to be given to the 20 students (33.9%) who do not 'enjoy being with the opposite sex' and for the 18 students (32.5%) who 'feel people are unfriendly.'

For Group II items (Table 3), excluding those who abstain from responding to the good adjustment item 'I am considerate', the responses reflect favourable behavioural traits on the part of many of the visually-handicapped sample, i.e. the largest number admit that they are 'easy to get along with' and are 'able to accept criticism'. Moreover, they do not:

(1) feel they are unable to do anything as well as others;
(2) feel unsure of themselves; and
(3) find themselves belittling others in conversation.

That the largest number (22 or 37.3%) have not responded to the statement of 'I am considerate' seems to suggest the Malaysian reluctance and modesty to highlight one's good attributes.

Some potential problem, however, is indicated when 21 visually handicapped students (35.6%) are unable to accept criticism, 15 of them

(25.4%) are not easy to get along with and a similar number feel that they cannot do anything as well as others.

Regarding Group III items (Table 4), the sample comes up top also in the 3 good adjustment items – getting along well with the people around them (54.2%), valuing independence (55.9%) and satisfactory relationship with others (47.5%). Correspondingly, the highest frequency responses fall on the lowest rating for such negative traits as sarcasm (45.8%) and fear of failing (32.2%).

However, guidance is indicated to help the 22 student's (37.3%) who have a fear of failing in everything they want to accomplish and for the 14 (23.7%) whose relationships with others are unsatisfactory.

In the case of Group IV items (Table 5), althought the highest number of responses reflect good behavioural traits such as frankness (54.2%), ability to accept responsibility (35.6%) and trusting one's own feelings (42.4%), the responses to these items also reflect some negative aspects such as a tendency to be on guard with people (58.8%), hiding one's own feelings (42.4%) and a dislike to plan and carry things out for themselves (42.4%).

As indicated in Table 6 for Group V items, the most frequent responses reflect three favourable behavioural traits – sincerity (39.0%), they are liked by most people who know them (32.2%) and they are usually in good spirits (33.9%). Correspondingly, the lowest rating goes to envying the happiness that others seem to enjoy (40.7%) and always keeping to themselves (40.7%). The most disturbing finding in this group of item responses is that there are as many students who are 'easily upset' as those who are not – 24 or 40.7%.

For Group VI items (Table 7) and for the first time, all the highest frequency responses fall on the maximum scale for the three positive and three negative items. Desirable traits include an ability to be self-reliant (55.9%), emotionally grown up (37.3%) and feeling relaxed (37.3%). Unfavourable characteristics, as reflected in the students' responses, include the problem of self-control (33.9%), a feeling that they are not getting enough done (49.2%) and they are usually shy (39.0%).

Signs of potential problems are suggested by 9–13 students (15.3%–22.1%) who apparently are unable to be self-reliant, are not emotionally grown up and cannot feel relaxed.

Five out of the six Group VII items (Table 8) elicit the largest number of students who are unable to make up their mind when responding to the questionnaire, varying from 22.0% to 39.0%. However, there are more students showing good adjustment characteristics rather than poor adjustment ones, for example, 27 (45.7%) can usually make up their minds and stick to them compared to 14 (23.7%) who apparently cannot do so; 25 (42.4%) feel that the things they do are worthwhile compared to 11 (18.7%) who do not feel so. Interestingly, 19 students (22.2%) feel they are intelligent and a similar number feel they are not.

Table 2
Frequency of Response to Group I Self-Sort Items (1–6)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
1. I enjoy being with the opposite sex (✓).	4 (6.8)	14 (23.7)	6 (10.2)	6 (10.2)	5 (8.5)	24 (40.7)	3.11	1.84	5
2. I feel people are unfriendly.	4 (6.8)	20 (33.9)	9 (15.3)	8 (13.6)	6 (10.2)	12 (20.3)	2.47	1.67	1
3. I stand up for what I think is right (✓).	1 (1.7)	10 (16.9)	2 (3.4)	9 (15.3)	3 (5.1)	34 (57.6)	3.78	1.63	5
4. I usually like people (✓).	2 (3.4)	8 (13.6)	4 (6.8)	6 (10.2)	4 (6.8)	35 (59.3)	3.81	1.65	5
5. I am afraid of a full-fledged disagreement with a person.	1 (1.7)	16 (27.1)	6 (10.2)	8 (13.6)	5 (8.5)	23 (39.0)	3.16	1.73	5
6. I avoid facing problems.	1 (1.7)	20 (33.9)	4 (6.8)	11 (18.6)	4 (6.8)	19 (32.2)	2.91	1.72	1

Note. (✓) denotes good adjustment items and figures in brackets are percentages in Tables 2–11.

Table 3
Frequency of Responses to Group II Self-Sort Items (7–12)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
7. I feel that I can't do anything as well as others can.	1 (1.7)	30 (50.8)	7 (11.9)	6 (10.2)	5 (8.5)	10 (16.9)	2.23	1.59	1
8. I feel unsure of myself.	4 (6.8)	32 (54.21)	6 (10.2)	4 (6.8)	2 (3.4)	11 (18.6)	2.01	1.65	1
9. I am considerate (√).	22 (37.3)	7 (11.9)	1 (1.7)	76 (11.9)	7 (11.9)	15 (25.4)	2.25	2.12	0
10. I am easy to get along with (√).	3 (5.1)	11 (18.6)	4 (6.8)	12 (20.3)	4 (6.8)	25 (42.4)	3.32	1.72	5
11. I find myself belittling others in conversation.	2 (3.4)	27 (45.8)	6 (10.2)	11 (18.6)	3 (5.1)	10 (16.9)	2.27	1.57	1
12. I am able to accept.	2 (3.4)	21 (35.6)	4 (6.8)	5 (8.5)	5 (8.5)	22 (37.3)	2.94	1.85	5

Table 4
Frequency of Responses to Group III Self-Sort Items (13–16)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
13. I get along well with the people around me (√).	1 (1.7)	9 (15.3)	2 (3.4)	8 (13.6)	7 (11.9)	32 (54.2)	3.81	1.57	5
14. The way I feel depends on the mood of those around me.	1 (1.7)	17 (28.8)	6 (10.2)	11 (18.6)	4 (6.8)	20 (33.9)	3.01	1.69	5
15. I value independence (√).	2 (3.4)	5 (8.5)	3 (5.1)	9 (5.3)	7 (11.9)	33 (55.9)	3.91	1.50	5
16. I have a fear of failing in everything I want to accomplish.	2 (3.4)	19 (32.2)	4 (6.8)	12 (20.3)	4 (6.8)	18 (30.5)	2.86	1.72	1
17. My relationships with others are satisfactory (√).	1 (1.7)	11 (18.6)	3 (5.1)	10 (16.9)	6 (10.2)	28 (47.5)	3.57	1.63	5
18. I am sarcastic.		27 (45.8)	9 (15.3)	9 (15.3)	2 (3.4)	12 (20.3)	2.37	1.57	1

Table 5
Frequency of Response to Group IV Self-Sort Items (19–24)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
19. I tend to be on my guard with people.		7 (11.9)	4 (6.8)	12 (20.3)	6 (10.2)	30 (50.8)	3.81	1.43	5
20. I am a frank person (√).	2 (3.4)	4 (6.8)	5 (8.5)	12 (20.3)	4 (6.8)	32 (54.2)	3.83	1.49	5
21. I am able to accept responsibility (√).	1 (1.7)	8 (13.6)	4 (6.8)	20 (33.9)	5 (8.5)	21 (35.6)	3.40	1.46	5
22. I hide my true feelings.	3 (5.1)	8 (13.6)	4 (6.8)	11 (18.6)	8 (13.6)	25 (42.4)	3.49	1.64	5
23. I like to plan and carry things out for myself (√).	4 (6.8)	16 (27.1)	7 (11.9)	7 (11.9)	10 (16.9)	15 (25.4)	2.81	1.73	1
24. I don't trust my own feelings.	2 (3.4)	25 (42.4)	6 (10.2)	10 (16.9)	4 (6.8)	12 (20.3)	2.42	1.64	1

Table 6
Frequency of Response to Group V Self-Sort Items (25–30)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
25. I envy the happiness that others seem to enjoy.		24 (40.7)	3 (5.1)	16 (27.1)	6 (10.2)	10 (16.9)	2.57	1.52	1
26. I am liked by most people who know me (√).	1 (1.7)	10 (16.9)	5 (8.5)	16 (27.1)	8 (13.6)	19 (32.2)	3.30	1.51	5
27. I am sincere (√).	1 (1.7)	8 (13.6)	5 (8.5)	15 (25.4)	7 (11.9)	23 (39.0)	3.49	1.52	5
28. I am easily upset.	2 (3.4)	14 (23.7)	10 (16.9)	9 (15.3)	9 (15.3)	15 (25.4)	2.91	1.62	5
29. I always keep to myself.	1 (1.7)	24 (40.7)	3 (5.1)	11 (18.6)	7 (11.9)	13 (22.0)	2.64	1.65	1
30. I am usually in good spirit (√).	1 (1.7)	9 (15.3)	6 (10.2)	12 (20.3)	11 (18.6)	20 (33.9)	3.4	1.51	5

Table 7
Frequency of Responses to Group VI Self-Sort Items (31–36)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
31. I am able to be self-reliant (√).	–	6 (10.2)	7 (11.9)	8 (13.6)	5 (8.5)	33 (55.9)	3.88	1.45	5
32. Self control is a problem to me.	–	17 (28.8)	6 (10.2)	10 (16.9)	6 (10.2)	20 (33.9)	3.10	1.65	5
33. I feel that I am not getting enough done.	–	8 (13.6)	3 (5.1)	9 (15.3)	10 (16.9)	29 (49.2)	3.83	1.44	5
34. I am emotionally grown up (√).	1 (1.7)	4 (6.8)	5 (8.5)	16 (27.1)	11 (18.6)	22 (37.3)	3.66	1.33	5
35. I feel relaxed (√).	2 (3.4)	7 (11.9)	5 (8.5)	14 (23.7)	9 (15.3)	22 (37.3)	3.47	1.52	5
36. I am usually shy.	2 (3.4)	8 (13.6)	5 (8.5)	10 (16.9)	11 (18.6)	23 (39.0)	3.50	1.56	5

Table 8
Frequency of Responses to Group VII Self-Sort Items (37–42)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
37. I can usually make up my mind and stick to it (√).	2 (3.4)	10 (16.9)	4 (6.8)	16 (27.1)	12 (20.3)	15 (25.4)	3.20	1.50	3
38. I feel that the things I do are worthwhile (√).	2 (3.4)	8 (13.6)	3 (5.1)	21 (35.6)	6 (10.2)	19 (32.2)	3.32	1.49	3
39. I usually seek the advice of others.	1 (1.7)	5 (8.5)	7 (11.9)	12 (20.3)	10 (16.9)	24 (40.7)	3 64	1.42	5
40. It is difficult for me to control my anger.	2 (3.4)	16 (27.1)	5 (8.5)	16 (27.1)	11 (18.6)	9 (15.3)	2.76	1.50	1
41. I often feel resentful.	2 (3.4)	8 (13.6)	9 (15.3)	16 (27.1)	11 (18.6)	13 (22.0)	3.10	1.44	3
42. I feel I am intelligent (√).	3 (5.1)	10 (16.9)	9 (15.3)	18 (30.5)	9 (15.3)	10 (16.9)	2.84	1.46	3

Some feelings of insecurity are indicated since as many as 34 students (47.6%) have admitted that they usually seek the advice of others. It is also disturbing to note that 24 (40.6%) often feel resentful and that 20 (33.9%) have difficulty controlling their anger.

With regard to Group VIII items (Table 9), relatively fewer students have ranked themselves on the maximum scale of 5 on the good adjustment items – 22.0% are optimistic, 20.3% are guided by values and standards of their own and 32.2% are cheerful. What is disturbing is that as many as 26 students (44.1%) often make excuses for themselves and 19 (32.2%) are stubborn.

Responses to Group IX items (Table 10) show favourable behavioural traits. On the maximum scale of 5, 26 students feel confident (44.1%), 18 are able to express their feelings to others (30.5%) and 28 understand themselves (47.5%). Correspondingly, they rate themselves the lowest on feelings of hopelessness (52.5%), putting up a false front (35.6%) and ease of feelings being hurt (25.4%). However, there should be some concern for the 20 students (33.9%) whose feelings are easily hurt, the 15 students (26.4%) who put up false fronts, the 14 students (23.8%) who have a feeling of hopelessness and as many as 16 (27.1%) who apparently are unable to express their feelings to others.

As a group, the visually handicapped students again seem to have fairly good adjustment characteristics in their response to group X items (Table 11). As many as 30 students (50.8%) are likeable, 26 (44.1%) are able to assert themselves and 21 (35.6%) are tactful, compared to the 16, 15 and 16 students respectively who are not. Correspondingly, there are fewer respondents who profess they are nervous persons or who cannot satisfy their friends no matter what they do than those who admit so. Surprisingly, one item out of the 60, 'I can't seem to make up my mind one way or another' receives the largest number of non-responses – 27 or 45.8%.

EFFECTS OF SEX, ETHNICITY, AGE, DEGREE OF VISUAL LOSS AND TYPE OF SCHOOLING ON SELF-CONCEPT

Using the chi-square value as a test of significance (Table 12), it is found that in all the 60 questionnaire items, the obtained frequencies do not indicate that actual population differences exist between students who have total visual loss, light perception only and partial sight. The same is true for the large majority of items in terms of sex, ethnicity, age and type of schooling.

Actual male and female differences exist significantly in only 5 out of the 60 items (percentages based on a rating of '4' and '5'), namely:

Item 12 I am able to accept criticism. (47.5% male, 42.2% female.)

Item 16 I have a fear of failing in everything I want to accomplish. (40.0% male, 31.6% female.)

Item 42 I feel I am intelligent. (22.5% male, 52.7% female.)

Table 9
Frequency of Responses to Group VIII Self-Sort Items (43–48)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
43. I am a stubborn person.	1 (1.7)	17 (28.8)	9 (15.3)	13 (22.0)	4 (6.8)	15 (25.4)	2.79	1.59	1
44. I have little respect for myself.	1 (1.7)	12 (30.3)	5 (8.5)	17 (28.8)	11 (18.6)	13 (22.0)	3.08	1.46	3
45. I am optimistic (√).	2 (3.4)	7 (11.9)	7 (11.9)	22 (37.3)	8 (13.6)	13 (22.0)	3.11	1.39	3
46. I am guided by values and standards of my own (√).	–	10 (16.9)	4 (6.8)	21 (35.6)	12 (20.3)	12 (20.3)	3.20	1.32	3
47. I often make excuses for myself.	1 (1.7)	14 (23.7)	4 (6.8)	14 (23.7)	9 (15.3)	17 (28.8)	3.13	1.58	5
48. I am a cheerful person (√).	1 (1.7)	7 (11.9)	5 (8.5)	21 (25.6)	6 (10.2)	19 (32.2)	3.37	1.41	3

Table 10
Frequency of Responses to Group IX Self-Sort Items (49–54)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
49. I have a feeling of hopelessness.	–	31 (52.5)	6 (10.2)	8 (13.6)	7 (11.9)	7 (11.9)	2.20	1.48	1
50. My feelings are easily hurt.	2 (3.4)	15 (25.4)	8 (13.6)	14 (23.7)	7 (11.9)	13 (22.0)	2.81	1.57	1
51. I put up a false front.	1 (1.7)	21 (35.6)	6 (10.2)	16 (17.1)	5 (8.5)	10 (16.9)	2.55	1.51	1
52. I feel confident (√).	1 (1.7)	6 (10.2)	7 (11.9)	13 (22.0)	6 (10.2)	26 (44.1)	3.61	1.48	5
53. I am able to express my feelings to others (√).	2 (3.4)	10 (16.9)	6 (10.2)	18 (30.5)	5 (8.5)	18 (30.5)	3.15	1.55	3
54. I understand myself (√).	1 (1.7)	9 (15.3)	4 (6.8)	10 (16.9)	7 (11.9)	28 (47.5)	3.64	1.57	5

Table 11
Frequency of Responses to Group X Self-Sort Item (55–60)

Items	Rating						Mean	SD	Mode
	0	1	2	3	4	5			
55. I am tactful (√)	3 (5.1)	11 (18.6)	5 (8.5)	19 (32.2)	8 (13.6)	13 (22.0)	2.96	1.53	3
56. I am likeable (√).	–	10 (16.9)	6 (10.2)	13 (22.0)	11 (18.6)	19 (32.2)	3.39	1.46	5
57. I am able to assert myself (√).	2 (3.4)	10 (16.9)	5 (8.5)	16 (27.1)	9 (15.3)	17 (28.8)	3.20	1.54	5
58. I am a nervous person.	1 (1.7)	12 (20.3)	13 (22.0)	13 (22.0)	9 (15.3)	11 (18.6)	2.84	1.44	2
59. No matter what I do, I can't satisfy my friends.	6 (10.2)	15 (25.4)	8 (13.6)	12 (20.3)	9 (15.3)	9 (15.3)	2.50	1.62	1
60. I can't seem to make up my mind one way or another.	27 (45.8)	7 (11.9)	2 (3.4)	13 (22.0)	2 (3.4)	8 (13.6)	1.66	1.86	0

Table 12
Effects of Sex, Ethnicity, Age, Degree of Visual Loss and Type of Schooling on Self-Concept

Item	Sex With 5 df	Ethnicity 10 df	Age With 10 df	Degree of Visual Loss with 10 df	Type of Schooling with 5 df
1	4.04	7.68	10.04	6.92	10.87
2	1.97	12.71	12.01	7.88	5.56
3	7.41	34.21(x)	9.15	11.44	9.35
4	1.31	19.76(x)	17.28	8.09	5.29
5	6.38	8.10	10.37	12.66	5.43
6	10.35	19.90(x)	6.86	6.06	8.87
7	7.87	15.99	2.61	2.94	7.40
8	1.88	35.19(x)	11.60	13.86	3.36
9	8.59	10.78	4.55	11.11	3.64
10	6.74	6.05	12.03	14.58	2.42
11	9.63	4.03	9.95	11.85	2.54
12	15.79(x)	17.98	8.65	10.64	12.31(x)
13	7.20	14.00	7.31	9.97	7.40
14	2.54	12.92	15.61	6.58	4.44
15	5.26	24.09(x)	7.95	11.21	2.94
16	11.08 (x)	16.97	9.14	12.63	1.71
17	3.73	3.31	10.09	9.46	9.10
18	2.93(a)	7.72(b)	5.42(b)	6.21(b)	9.84(a)(x)
19	1.31(a)	11.40(b)	6.28(b)	7.39(b)	4.11(a)
20	2.11	14.08	8.97	9.43	6.14
21	3.18	7.18	10.19	9.50	6.47
22	3.19	10.34	12.77	14.44	3.56
23	5.12	10.34	8.21	6.70	2.38
24	6.66	3.70	18.81(x)	10.90	2.84
25	2.58(a)	7.76(b)	10.83(b)	6.37(b)	10.45(a)(x)
26	1.60	4.07	14.88	14.23	4.63
27	7.63	5.23	17.07	14.92	7.01
28	2.35	9.69	8.07	4.71	3.08
29	3.10	12.94	5.73	7.39	3.35
30	3.12	12.06	6.56	12.42	5.36
31	2.05(a)	15.86(b)(x)	6.71(b)	7.97(b)	2.40(a)
32	4.63(a)	3.90(b)	8.56(b)	8.03(b)	4.24(a)

Table 12 (contd.)

Item	Sex With 5 df	Ethnicity 10 df	Age With 10 df	Degree of Visual Loss with 10 df	Type of Schooling with 5 df
33	3.35(a)	23.86(b)(x)	9.07(b)	2.15(b)	3.63(a)
34	1.93	9.60	9.34	5.64	8.65
35	4.39	13.12	17.70	13.63	3.89
36	10.29	18.59(x)	5.75	9.61	5.66
37	6.32	12.71	5.01	8.00	4.09
38	5.05	4.64	9.45	6.96	2.71
39	5.83	6.73	14.55	10.52	10.03
40	3.16	6.90	11.01	5.80	3.08
41	8.25	10.32	6.32	16.02	7.55
42	11.36(x)	8.86	9.32	9.98	7.52
43	6.20	17.27	7.95	12.22	4.77
44	4.95	12.78	8.68	7.82	2.77
45	5.78	9.96	8.32	7.65	6.47
46	6.76(a)	14.93(b)	11.60(b)	7.23	0.76(a)
47	1.90	6.75	10.68	15.70	1.68
48	4.43	4.65	9.37	8.32	3.19
49	17.77(a)(x)	10.44(b)	6.25(b)	7.54(b)	10.28(a)(x)
50	7.26	11.20	9.61	10.53	4.48
51	2.77	11.42	6.59	10.72	7.73
52	2.63	13.48	8.39	12.06	4.56
53	4.74	7.96	8.58	8.24	8.15
54	2.23	22.51(x)	6.30	12.90	6.49
55	13.03(x)	9.46	10.92	16.75	7.16
56	2.29(a)	7.38(b)	5.77(b)	8.11(b)	0.88(a)
57	6.64	8.69	14.66	6.59	2.68
58	5.66	6.49	7.35	14.18	1.31
59	7.33	10.86	12.92	12.41	2.59
60	2.51	4.63	14.26	12.32	6.25

Notes. (x) = Significant at .05 level of confidence.
(a) = 4df.
(b) = 8df.

Item 49 I have a feeling of hopelessness. (15.0% male, 42.1% female.)
Item 55 I am tactful. (43.0% male, 15.8% female.)

In the case of ethnicity, there are significant differences between the Malays and the Chinese in the following 9 items (percentages based on a rating of '4' and '5'):

Item 3 I stand up for what I think is right. (68.1% Malays, 45.5% Chinese.)
Item 4 I usually like people. (72.4% Malays, 45.5% Chinese.)
Item 6 I avoid facing problems. (44.7% Malays, 18.2% Chinese.)
Item 8 I feel unsure of myself. (25.5% Malays, 0% Chinese.)
Item 15 I value independence. (63.8% Malays, 90.9% Chinese.)
Item 31 I am able to be self-reliant. (61.7% Malays, 72.7% Chinese.)
Item 33 I feel I am not getting enough done. (68.1% Malays, 63.7% Chinese.)
Item 36 I am usually shy. (55.4% Malays, 72.8% Chinese.)
Item 54 I understand myself. (57.5% Malays, 72.8% Chinese.)

In terms of age groups, there is only one item that elicits a significant difference, namely, 'I don't trust my own feelings' (16.7% aged 12–14 years; 19.4% aged 15–17 years and 47.0% aged 18–20 years have rated this item '4' and '5').

Significant differences also seem to appear in the responses from those who study in the Setapak Residential Secondary School for the Blind (Group X) compared to those who study in regular sighted secondary schools (Group Y) in the following 4 items (percentages are derived from '4' and '5' ratings):-

Item 12 I am able to accept criticism. (44.70% Group X, 47.6% Group Y.)
Item 18 I am sarcastic. (31.5% Group X, 9.6% Group Y.)
Item 25 I envy the happiness that others seem to enjoy. (23.7% Group X, 33.4% Group Y.)
Item 55 I have a feeling of hopelessness. (13.1% Group X, 42.9% Group Y.)

The data above confirms the view that there are pros and cons in integrated education, that is, educating the blind side by side with sighted students in regular schools. On the one hand, there is a higher proportion of such students who are able to accept students and a smaller percentage who are sarcastic but on the other, a higher proportion of them appear to envy the happiness of others and have a feeling of hopelessness. This has important implications for the government in its efforts to expand educational facilities for the visually handicapped.

SELF-CONCEPT DISCREPANCY

As proposed by Rogers (1951),[12] psychological adjustment exists when one's concept of oneself is roughly congruent with one's experiences. Similarly, good adjustment is characterised by a self-concept which is not very removed from one's concept of the way one would like to be. If these two concepts are grossly inconsistent with each other, the individual will experience heightened conflict and tension and thus may be maladjusted.

The difference in scores in each of the 60 self-sort and ideal-sort items of each of the 59 visually handicapped students has been calculated manually and summarised in Table 13. There is a wide range of discrepancy scores, ranging from 12 to 131, suggesting that the sampled group is a very heterogeneous one with a mean of 73.34 and a standard deviation of 23.06. Surprisingly, the range and standard deviation in discrepancy scores for the female students are much smaller than those for the male students, reflecting differential home background and/or social interaction.

Table 13
Discrepancy Scores Between Self-Sort and Ideal-Sort Items in Terms of Range, Mean and Standard Deviation

Sex	Highest	Lowest	R	M	SD
Male N = 40	131	12	119	73.25	27.92
Female N = 19	105	43	62	73.52	3.74
Total N = 59	131	12	119	73.34	23.06

Considering students with discrepancy scores of less than one standard deviation as 'normal' and those above one standard deviation as abnormal, there are only 12 or 22.0% cases as summarised in Table 14 with 5.5 times more males than females. Not only are there more male students having adjustment problems, they seem to have more severe problems as suggested by the two male students with discrepancy scores of more than two standard deviations. As these two are extreme cases, it may be fruitful to examine in some detail the nature of the problem. Only individual items with a maximum discrepancy score of '4' will be cited.

Table 14
Frequence of Discrepancy Scores Between Self-Sort and Ideal-Sort Items in Terms of Standard Deviation (±1 DS = ±23.06)

Number of Standard Deviations	Male	Female	Subtotal
> 1 SD but < 2 SD	9 (22.5)	2 (10.5)	11 (18.6)
> 2 SD but < 3 SD	2 (5.0)	0	2 (3.4)
> 3 SD	0	0	0
Subtotal	11 (27.5)	2 (10.5)	13 (22.0)
Sample Total	40	19	59

Note. Figures in brackets are percentages of the sample total.

Case 1

This is a male Bumiputra student, aged 15–17 years old in Form II. He is partially sighted and lives and studies in the special residential school for the blind. His behavioural traits with potential problems for adjustment include:

(1) Does not enjoy being with the opposite sex.
(2) Fear of failing in everything he wants to accomplish.
(3) A tendency to be on his guard with people.
(4) Unable to accept responsibility.
(5) A feeling that the things he does are not worthwhile.
(6) Is not a cheerful person.
(7) Does not feel confident.
(8) Is not tactful.
(9) Unable to assert himself.
(10) Conflict over ease of getting along with others, criticism, not getting enough done, shyness, making excuses for oneself, feelings of hopelessness and nervousness.

Case 2

This case is also a male Bumiputra aged 15–17 years in Form III, with light perception only, studying and staying in the same residential school for the blind. His problem areas include:

(1) Avoiding facing problems.
(2) A feeling that he cannot do anything as well as others can.

(3) Cannot get along well with the people around him.
(4) His relationships with others are not satisfactory.
(5) A tendency to be on his guard with people.
(6) Being frank.
(7) A dislike to plan and carry things out for himself.
(8) Sincerity.
(9) Is easily upset.
(10) Always keeps to himself.
(11) Has problems of self-control.
(12) A feeling that he is not getting enough done.
(13) Difficult for him to control his temper.
(14) Stubbornness.
(15) Often makes excuses for himself.
(16) Conflict over self-reliance, emotional maturity, worthwhileness of doing things, relaxation, one's values and standards, cheerfulness, feelings of confidence, expression of feelings to others, understanding oneself and self-assertion.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study seems to suggest that the visually-handicapped students as a group do not appear to have serious emotional-social problems. It is clear that there are more students professing favourable behavioural traits than unfavourable traits. Nevertheless, there exists a sufficient number of individuals who seem to experience some adjustment problems which warrant remedial action.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Arising from the findings of this study, it is recommended that:

(1) The students at the school be informed about the general results of this study.
(2) They be reminded to strive towards achieving good adjustment traits and discarding poor adjustment traits.
(3) As a short-term measure, teachers and house parents at the school be made aware of the findings of this survey so that they can better guide their students towards a more favourable emotional-social development,
(4) As a long-term measure, a counsellor with professional background in guidance and counselling and in educating the visually handicapped be appointed as part of the school establishment.
(5) This study be extended to cover a similar sample of sighted students to determine whether there are major group and/or individual differences.

CONCLUSION

This study can only be described as exploratory. The results may be more revealing if the sample is larger. There are other dimensions of emotional-social adjustment that other researchers may like to look into, such as attitudes towards blindness, child-rearing practices and the effects of residential schooling and open integrated system.

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A Study of Contradictions Within the Self-Concept of Mentally Retarded Children **

Vasantha R. Patri

The family affects the child's self-evaluation. Confusing experiences in the family will hamper proper self-evaluation resulting in the child having an unstable and inconsistent view of himself. This will consequently affect adjustment. While a normal child can be expected to overcome some of these contradictions eventually by virtue of his own increased intellectual maturity and experiences, a retarded child, by virtue of his limited intellectual abilities and restrictive environmental exposure, suffers a double deficit from which he has no escape route.

This study aims at investigating (1) the differences in self-concept between normal and retarded children (2) extent of contradictions within retarded and normal children and (3) the relationship between extent of contradictions within the self-concept and level of intelligence. The subjects were from the low socio-economic class and their ages ranged from 8 to 20 years of age.

The self-concept was measured by the Dutta Self-Concept Scale (Hindi version). This scale consists of dichotomous, discontinuous items which appear in pairs and covers physical, intellectual and socio-emotional self. The reliability of the scale, as assessed by split-half method, was 0.73. The parallel form validity measure yielded a correction of 0.47. Contradiction scores were obtained by computing the differences between the pairs of items.

Analysis of the data reveal the following findings:

(1) Significant differences in self-concept between normal and retarded subject were established although retarded children tended to

evaluate themselves more negatively. The majority of the children in both groups tended to view themselves in a mental fashion.

(2) Contradictions in the self-concept of retarded children were significantly greater than normal children.

(3) Degree of contradiction was negatively related to level of intelligence.

Paper III

Main Theme

Curriculum and the Adolescent

CHAIRPERSON	*Professor Isahak Haron*
RAPPORTEUR	*Miss Raja Maznah Raja Hussain*

Curriculum and Adolescent Development: A Singapore Perspective*

Amy Fam and Tay-Koay Siew Luan

INTRODUCTION

A cynic once noted that 'adolescence is a time when one wants what one isn't sure what one wants'. Whether this is an apt or fair description of adolescence, those of us who are involved, directly or directly, with designing curricula for adolescents are doubtlessly aware of the problems of making the school curricula more attractive without being too paternalistic.

While the Latin derivative *'adolescere'* merely means 'growing up', it makes no reference to the most tumultous period of one's life span, as experienced by many people, especially in complex and affluent societies. Singapore is probably no exception for the adolescent has first to come to terms with not only a series of rapid changes taking place in his body but also increased expectations and demands from his environment. We do realise that the work of anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead suggests that where society is simple and traditional, there is little, if any, storm and stress during this transition to adulthood. The definition of the adolescent period also varies from society to society and from culture to culture. For the purpose of this paper, we would like to confine our discussion on adolescence to the age range corresponding to entry into secondary school until the completion of pre-university education i.e. between the ages of 12 and 18.

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CURRICULAR CONSIDERATIONS: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE SINGAPORE SOCIETY

Adolescence is therefore a psycho-social phenomenon. It is largely affected by social pressures, educational activities and individual experiences. There are features of our society which ought to be briefly mentioned here because of their influence, directly or indirectly, on adolescent development.

When Singapore first gained its independence, the Education Report 1959 put forth an education policy which rests on the following four principles:[1]

(1) provision of equal educational opportunity for all;
(2) attainment of unity in a diversity of ethnicity and mother tongues;
(3) building of loyalty to the nation; and
(4) the preparation of youths for their vocation in a progressively technological society.

Singapore is not endowed with natural resources and hence depends solely on its human resources for its development. We are a nation with about 35.5% (1983) of our population below 20 years of age.[2] Our best investment for the development of our country therefore lies chiefly in developing our youths into a rugged and productive society. In his speech at the National Day Rally last year,[3] the Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, first expressed his grave concern for the lopsided pattern of procreation as well as the current marriage trend in Singapore. He observed that the 1980 Census showed that the better educated the people, the fewer children they have. Yet another more disturbing observation is that more and more of our graduate women tend to remain unmarried while the graduate men seem to prefer wives with lower educational levels. If the trends from these two observations persist and remain unrectified, it will lead to a gradual depletion of the pool of talents in the country over the next few decades. This will result in a decline in the competencies of our human resources and hence our economy and society may be adversely affected.

Figures released from the Prime Minister's office[4] indicate that at the moment, as we go up the age ladder, more female than male graduates remain single despite a higher ratio of male to female graduates. There are now few male graduates to every female graduate in the younger age group of 25–29.[5] A projection from census returns[6] and demographic trends shows that by 1990, there will be two-and-a-half times more unmarried woman graduates than at present if we allow the current marriage trend to continue. This will approximate to an astronomical figure of 14,100 unmarried woman graduates. It is indeed a matter of grave concern for our nation and ideas and strategies are being explored that may lead to 'they got married and lived happily ever after'.

Coming back to the issue on procreation, let us now examine the consequence of the two-child family policy implemented in the early 1970s. It has been a very successful campaign and the census reports a decline in the birth rate over the last decade. In a rapidly industralising and modernising society like Singapore, the pattern of life in the family has changed drastically as a result of the shrinkage in family size. It is now usual for both parents to go to work. Working parents leave their children unsupervised for hours each workday. Children often become latchkey children and form the new 'orphans' of our society. They eat out at hawker centres and go out to play the whole day without adequate parental control. Adolescents turn to one another for companionship. They gather in groups outside shopping centres, hawker centres, and fast food chains along Orchard Road, the focus of our shopping attraction. They form cliques like the 'Far East Kids' and the 'Kwa Chee Gang' to spend their leisure hours together. These adolescents are thereby confronted with a wide spectrum of values and behaviours for which they are unable to select because they are not equipped with proper propensities for values clarification.

Such changes in the social infrastructure of any society inevitably produce a ripple effect in the education system. The education system has always been a subsystem of the social system since the objectives of education are designed to remain relevant to society's needs and national policies. A major area of concern in the educational system is the curriculum. Curriculum refers to the sum total of ALL the influences INTENDED to bring about *desirable* changes in an individual's behaviour. There is an overriding element of intentionality based upon choices of an ethical or pragmatic kind between different possible corpuses of knowledge and end results or aims. In Singapore, the Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore (CDIS) was established in 1980 to be primarily responsible for the development of school curricula to meet the objectives of the nation as well as societal demands and the individual needs of our young. It is co-located in the same campus as the Institute of Education (IE) because it is considered crucial that curriculum development and teacher education should work in tandem with one another. Besides serving as informal advisors to many CDIS projects – at present as many as eight IE lecturers are in fact seconded to work in three projects on a full-time basis – various teams of IE lecturers have been responsible for the summative evaluation of a variety of CDIS projects.

CURRICULUM AND THE SOCIAL EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ADOLESCENT

Today's adolescents, whether they like it or not, are tomorrow's adults. It is therefore imperative for the school to help socialise the adolescents into their adult roles in society. The curriculum should, as far as possible, accommodate the needs generated by sociological changes.

The so-called Great Marriage Debate has successfully sparked off tremendous interest on issues pertaining to marriage and motherhood. Schools are encouraged to conduct seminars, debates and discussions on family life education so that adolescents can come together and share their views on the facts of life and love, dating and responsible boy-girl relationships. On a more formal level, a curriculum project on marriage is now being developed by the CDIS to help inform our young on issues concerning marriage and procreation and their responsibility towards the nation in this respect. This curriculum package will be implemented at the upper secondary level in the near future. Meanwhile, girls' schools are encouraged to cater for more feminine activities such as music, art, ballet and, most important of all, home economics. This will help our adolescents, in particular, the girls, to develop into 'more balanced and fully realized human beings'.[7]

In the Human and Social Biology syllabus which is offered at the General Certificate of Education (GCE) 'O' level, students learn about environmental pollution, personal health including common diseases and immunisations as well as sexual reproduction genetics and family planning. It is very informative and serves to prepare the young adolescent for his adult role.

The curriculum should not be concerned with only the social development of the individual. What it provides in terms of values is particularly important. The lack of proper parental guidance and rapid development in Singapore over the last two decades lead to the facile adoption of the more decadent of Western values and excessive individualism and materialism. So in 1978, a high-level committee was commissioned to look into the moral aspects of education in Singapore. In the past, Civics was taught once a week on a rather informal basis. Teachers were not formally trained to teach the subject and they had no specific textbooks for the lessons.

In his comments on the Report of the Education Study team, the Prime Minister aptly spells out the test of a good education as follows:

> The litmus test of a good education is whether it nurtures citizens who can live, work, contend and co-operate in a civilized way. Is he loyal and patriotic? Is he, when the need arises, a good soldier, ready to defend his country, and so protect his wife and children, and his fellow citizens? Is he filial, respectful to his elders, law-abiding, humane and responsible? Does he take care of his wife and children, and his parents? Is he a good neighbour and a trustworthy friend? Is he tolerant of Singaporeans of different races and religions? Is he clean, neat, punctual and well-mannered?[8]

This provides the basis for the committee to recommend that the Civics programme be replaced by the Moral Education programme. The principal objective is to develop desirable moral values and social attitudes in the young. Subsequently, programmes like 'Being and Becoming' were introduced to the primary and later on, the secondary schools. The method of teaching the desired moral values and social attitudes departs largely from the traditional method of inculcation. The young adolescent no longer needs to sit quietly and listen to the 'rights' and 'wrongs' of behaviours. Instead, he is encouraged to question and discuss morals and clarify values for himself.

The Committee also recommended that religious studies be introduced to reinforce the teaching of moral values. Religious Knowledge is introduced as a subject in the school curriculum at the third and fourth years of secondary school. Religious Knowledge offers a variety of options ranging from Confucian Ethics and a course called World Religions to the teaching of Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism and Sikhism. The main emphasis underlying all these options is on the development of loyalty and social responsibility to the family, school and nation.

However, from the viewpoint of one who is interested in helping the adolescent attain the full development of his potential, it is also necessary to look into other aspects of his development.

CURRICULUM AND THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ADOLESCENT

Intellectual Development of Adolescents

Adolescence is also a time of intellectual expansion, both quantitative and qualitative. It is during this period that many kinds of mental ability, especially those least dependent on experience, reach their peak. The adolescent is able to master not only cognitive tasks which he has performed with great difficulty in middle childhood but also think through problems in entirely new ways.

In particular, an adolescent is capable of varying degress of what Jean Piaget calls 'formal operational thought' – the ability to think abstractly and formulate hypotheses or theoretical propositions that depart from immediately observable events. As compared to the child who is mostly preoccupied with concrete and here-and-now problems, the adolescent is able 'not only to grasp the immediate state of things but also the possible state he/she might or could assume'.[9] Furthermore, he is able to conceptualise his own thoughts and 'to take his mental constructions as objects and reason about them'.[10] It is clear that with this capability to engage in formal operations, the adolescent is able to deal with many complex, educational and vocational demands. The individual finds that he has to adjust to increasing academic and intellectual requirements. He is expected to acquire many skills and concepts useful at some future time but often lacks immediate motivation.

So much has been said about the intellectual development of the adolescent according to the Piagetian model. However, in the context of Singapore, research on this developmental aspect of formal operational thinking of secondary school students has yet to be conducted systematically and on a wider sample. Exploratory studies have already been carried out by the IE on the cognitive development of secondary school students in Singapore.[11] Such studies include adolescents' performance on formal operational tasks such as reasoning and judgemental tasks through the use of English Comprehension passages. Assessment of explanation and investigation of cognitive styles of pre-university students have also been the subject of study.[12]

In order to cater to the intellectual needs of the young adolescents, the curriculum in Singapore is currently undergoing many changes. One example is the change in the Secondary One syllabus in Geography.[13] Instead of merely acquiring facts, the emphasis now is on learning to think and to probe concepts of geography that will help them to relate to the rest of the world and to everyday life. Rather than being tested on what they know, they will be assessed on how to reason out their answers. They will be encouraged to 'make socially responsible decisions' and help to understand the planning and policy decision-making process. Active approaches like games and field trips that involve the students in the learning process are some of the teaching strategies in the new syllabus. For a lesson in settlement, students will be organised into groups and told to decide where a settlement should be located and why. It is indeed a stimulating way of developing students' critical ability.

Another example is in the Science syllabus where the emphasis is on activity-oriented approach. Science teachers are also increasingly using field trips in the teaching-learning process. The new approach is to develop the exploratory instincts and encourage students to speak up rather than listen passively. Schools have developed facilities to make the 'touch-and see' and exploratory method interesting and meaningful. Some schools have developed a vegetable plot and an ecology pond, a science garden, a display case and a large science room.

The Singapore curriculum provides adolescents the opportunity to develop their talents outside of the classroom and to show their prowess in science, art or music through participation in activities at the Singapore Science Fair and the Singapore Youth Festival. The latter includes a wide range of activities such as art and craft exhibition, a drama festival and outdoor band activities. For the 1980 Singapore Youth Festival, participants were required to research on music and dance forms of the past. The theme was 'Our Cultural Heritage'.[14]

To capitalise further on the intellectual expansion and development of the adolescents, the Ministry of Education is encouraging the setting up of computer clubs in schools and increasing student involvement in computer appreciation courses. They are encouraged to use their talents to develop programmes that can serve as diagnostic and remedial learning packages to help the slow learners. The Ministry is prepared to install three micro computers costing about S$10,000 each in these schools. The IE is indirectly involved in enhancing the cognitive development of our secondary school students. In collaboration with the Ministry of Education, IE conducts pre-service and in-service courses to familiarise teachers with the new syllabi and modern teaching strategies.

In examining the Singapore curriculum more closely, it cannot be denied that much as the government has the adolescents' individual interests and needs at heart, national interest is more important. It is especially so in Singapore where manpower needs are a major concern. It is all the more crucial as the nation's only resources are its people and Singapore's future depends on how well we develop the potential of our youth today.

New Education Programme

Singapore's new education system[15] for secondary schools was introduced in 1982 with the primary aim of reducing attrition rates in the school system. It takes into account the individual learner and the variance in intellectual ability among adolescents. Thus, the Singapore curriculum caters to the needs of these adolescents by providing them with an educational experience that allows individuals to proceed at their own rates of porgress.[16]

The Goh Keng Swee Report of 1979[17] recommended that there should be two main streams at the secondary level. The Special/Express stream will be for the abler pupils who required more cognitively demanding schoolwork to progress at a faster pace of learning and sit for the GCE 'O' level examination at the end of four years. Those who do well academically will be provided with pre-university education leading to the GCE 'A' Level examination in junior colleges and pre-university centres. The majority of students will join a 5-year stream called the Normal Stream which caters to those who have a slower rate of learning and are more inclined towards practical-oriented schoolwork. At the end of the fourth year, they sit for the GCE 'N' level examination. The majority will be expected to complete their schooling at GCE 'N' level. A minority will continue into the fifth year and take the 'O' level examination.[18]

The curriculum at the 'O' level is very academic and suited only for the top 30–40% of the students. The GCE 'N' curriculum, on the other hand, is designed to suit most of the normal stream students. It is pitched at a more functional and practical level with emphasis on literacy and numeracy. Hence, students who are unable to cope with academic work will be given every chance to obtain a minimum level of education so that they can be useful citizens in their own ways. Singapore's education system is performing its role by helping to motivate these adolescents and to make up for their prior deficiencies in cognitive development by providing them with educational experiences in which they can acquire appropriate skills and experience success. This is essential in cultivating a sense of self-worth and a stable identity. Truly, these adolescents are scarce resources and their potentials need to be maximised in the interest of the nation. Indeed, the 'greatest safeguard to any democracy is a continuing community of self-respecting young people who understand and accept their relationship to society. The basic unit of such a community is a stable self to respect.'[19]

Vocational Training Programme

Towards this end, the Vocational and Industrial Training Board (VITB) in catering to the needs of the less academically inclined has expanded its programme to provide better training opportunities for those pupils who are more inclined towards vocational/technical skills and interests. The Automatic Registration Scheme has been introduced in the schools to facilitate the transfer of these premature school leavers who do not attain the GCE 'N' certificates and those students who leave school with GCE 'N' or 'O' level qualifications into the world of work through VITB whose role is to provide training in basic skills for employment. Further upgrading and advanced training are to be undertaken by the employer or the industry. As the main thrust of vocational training is preparation for work, the curricula are focussed on the acquisition of skills with a mastery of related knowledge and work disciplines that go with the skilled occupation. The practical or workshop component occupies 60.0% of curriculum time while theory and other learning activities take up the remainder 40.0%.[20]

At the same time, the VITB is also broadening its scope of activities to include courses for retraining workers who want to change their skills to new areas. The introduction of Basic Education for Skills Training (BEST) programme[21] is a related development. As Singapore's economy is undergoing restructuring towards higher productivity by using capital and technology intensive methods and to enable workers to benefit from these changes, the Singapore government is putting in great efforts to make the BEST programme into a national programme by getting employers to set up BEST classes within company premises. The BEST programme is aimed at those who have not successfully completed primary education by providing them with a minimum level of functional literacy and numeracy. Basic education opens the door to career advancement as those who successfully complete the BEST programme will qualify for VITB skill courses. In this way, a worker can have the opportunity to increase his productivity and share of earning power.

The Gifted Programme

So much has been said about the Singapore government's concern for the manpower needs of the country and for the less academically inclined. However, there is also focus on another group of students in the school population, namely, the exceptionally intelligent students called the 'gifted'. Presumably, they have been neglected for far too long. The normal classroom teaching bores and frustrates many of these intellectually active students. Hence, they may do worse than others and even pose discipline probelms. In their effort to conform, they suppress their natural abilities in the process. Research has shown that many of these talented students perform far below their intellectual potential in an attempt to escape peer group pressure.[22]

The Singapore government has been studying the experience of other countries with established programmes to see how it can cater to the special needs of these gifted students and to be able to provide them with appropriate facilities that will develop their potential to the fullest. According to Tay Eng Soon, Minister of State (Education), these talented students have great contributions to make to the society and these 'can only be realized if their gift is first, recognised and second, a programme is developed for their needs'.[23]

The Gifted Children Pilot Project was launched by the Ministry of Education in January 1984 with 100 Primary Four and 100 Secondary One students. Selection is based on their performance in intelligence tests as well as in school examinations. These gifted students are placed in eight special classes, 25 to a class, in four selected good schools. Specially hand-picked teachers are selected to teach them. Not only will they get more individual attention from the teachers but they will also study in a more liberal and stimulating environment.

Although the curriculum for these gifted students is the same as the existing curriculum, the teaching methods differ. The emphasis will be on thought-provoking teaching methods and activities that will stimulate and stretch their minds. Their curriculum is supplemented with project work to allow stimulation for inquiry and discovery. Some of them can readily cope with Mathematics or Science two or three years ahead at school level. Others have reading and comprehension level that is much more advanced than that of the average Singapore student. Secondary school students who are gifted will do an additional subject in the humanities if they are in the science stream while students in the arts stream will do an extra science subject. There is also a provision for some to study a third language. In order to instil a sense of social responsibility in these gifted students, they will also be involved in tutoring their weaker peers. At this point of time, it is too premature to evaluate the effectiveness of the gifted programme as it is still in its infancy stage.

It therefore appears from the recent curriculum changes that the government is also taking into consideration the development of the individual for the individual's sake and, in the long run, to supply the nation with a bigger pool of both talented and skilled manpower to run the country.

CURRICULUM AND THE PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ADOLESCENT

Compared to the tremendous changes in the curriculum to cater to the intellectual development of the adolescents, there is far too little done to assist their physical development. We know that during the adolescent years, there is also dramatic progress in physical and physiological development. In Singapore, the physical fitness of our adolescents require urgent attention because of the easy lifestyles brought about by affluence. Many are living in high-rise flats and are likely to grow up physically unfit with health problems unless the curriculum caters more to this area of their development.

Tan Eng Liang, Chairman of Singapore Sports Council lamented that 'PE and sports have not enjoyed a parity of treatment as other academic subjects'[24] Although physical education and sports have been a part of the curriculum, most schools view these activities as outlets for students to expend their excess energy so that they may concerntrate better on academic work. Perhaps, the weakness in the Physical Education (PE) syllabus lies in producing spartans fit for the army rather than encouraging the cultivation of a healthy active life.

Being a meritocratic society, Singapore tends to be academically oriented and concerned with minimising educational wastage. In 1979, the Ministry of Education permitted the principals of nine schools that were reserved for the top 8.0% of primary school leavers to drop all PE lessons so as to allow students more time to concentrate on English and Chinese. To make up for the lack of PE lessons during the week, these schools had daily mass drill exercises and callisthenics after the school flag raising ceremony. Parents then had reason to worry that their children's academic excellence might be developed in direct proportion to physical dissipation. Even now, there is a fear that with the lack of PE lessons during the week, we are likely to end up with 'a nation of bookworms who will not know their heads from their tails from so much burrowing around'.[25]

However, from a review of the extra-curricular activities (ECA) programme in schools in January 1981, the Ministry of Education discovered that the PE programme had failed to prepare adequately the boys for national service. The physical fitness of students had fallen short of expectation as the Ministry of Defence found that too many of the !8 year-old recruits were 'generally weak'.[26] In its recommendations for improving the quality of ECA programme, the team had suggested that physical fitness be achieved through a good PE programme during school hours rather than through compulsory ECA sports. As a result of this review, a compulsory PE programme of 2 periods a week is now included in the school curriculum.

The national slogan as suggested by Tay Eng Soon, Minister of State (Education) is 'physical fitness for labour and defence'. The current PE programme supplemented by ECA in schools is aimed more at developing a workforce fit and robust for Singapore's industries and national defence rather than at the physical development of the adolescents *per se.* The new PE programme tends to emphasise a military type of land-based techniques such as stamina training, physical fitness in the way of the army, strenuous circuit-training with sit-ups and pull-ups, and track and field events.

Above all these, there is also a tendency to convey the idea that even in the sports field, one has to do well, to excel and thus chalk up enough points to scale the academic ladder. Furthermore, the competitive nature may kill the spirit and sense of enjoyment associated with playing games for the fun of it. A Singapore journalist commented that 'PE has become a training ground for champions – not a place for pupils who derive simple pleasure in kicking a football in the school field'.[27] There is indeed a great need to develop in our future citizens a wholesome attitude towards physical fitness through exercise and sports. Unless something is done, PE will continue to rank low in school priority and students will continue to be physically unfit.

CONCLUSION

In closing, it is useful to note that curriculum development in Singapore is slowly deviating from the mere imparting of knowledge and skills and moving towards the preparation of the adolescent for his role in society. The emphasis on environmental education and the close association with reality in educational experiences during this critical period will surely help the adolescent a great deal in adjusting to the real world outside school.

While this paper examines only the role of the curriculum in adolescent development, there is another major area of concern which is outside the scope of this paper. We must not overlook the teacher as the key element to success in curricular implementation. The teacher comes into frequent contact with the adolescent and is fully aware of his needs and capabilities. For example, many a good curriculum has failed in its attempts not because of its rationale or carefully selected activities but rather, the improper dissemination of information to the teacher to enable him/her to implement the curricular materials according to the way that they have been planned.

However, there will be serious limitations if we rely only on education at a formal level to help the adolescent develop. In an increasingly complex society, the great plasticity of the young adult and his unpredictable nature provide an immense range of possibilities for parents as well as the community to join the school's efforts to promote the welfare of the youth at an informal level so that he is better prepared to cope and confront life's problems with fuller confidence. Admittedly, the orchestration of efforts, both formal and informal, to ensure that the curriculum is relevant to the needs of adolescents vis-a-vis societal needs is probably the weakest feature in Singapore. However, we wonder if this is not also the scenario for most other countries. If not, we certainly look forward to learn how this problem is being resolved by our colleagues in the neighbouring countries.

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Curriculum and the Adolescent: a Malaysian Perspective

Asiah bt. Abu Samah

INTRODUCTION

A cursory survey of the international scene reveals the vast amount of literature available concerning the psychology and social behaviour of the young – especially those of secondary school age, the adolescents. Unfortunately, most of this literature is western in context and orientation. While general patterns of adolescent development and characteristics are available in such literature, specific patterns relevant to adolescents in Malaysia are scarce. The task of curriculum planning and development is made more difficult for the curriculum planner in that there has not been very serious attempts made at linking curriculum goals, objectives, content and methodology with adolescent psychology and sociology. There is a need therefore to encourage educational research endeavours in this area in Malaysia. Only when we have more information on the psychological and sociological behaviours of Malaysian adolescents and the interactive effects of such behaviours with the school curriculum can we then get a clearer Malaysian perspective on the curriculum and the adolescent.

This paper is a modest attempt at building this perspective based on whatever little is known of adolescent behaviour and characteristics in Malaysia, and on collective personal experiences. It is aimed at raising questions rather than prescribing answers.

ADOLESCENT CHARACTERISTICS

Sorenson has described adolescence as 'much more than one rung up the ladder from childhood. It is a built-in, necessary transition period for ego development. It is a leave-taking of the dependencies of childhood and a precocious reach for adulthood. An adolescent is a traveller who has left one place and has not reached the next ...'.

The transition from childhood to adulthood is normally a difficult period for parents, teachers and society at large but most of all for the adolescent concerned. The unfolding of adolescent characteristics is a natural process and education should aim at enriching and, if possible, enhancing the process. But before education could begin to tackle this gigantic task, there is a need to unravel and understand a host of needs and phenomena that make up and surround the adolescent.

Psychological Needs

After sifting through the literature, Hemming arrives at a list of basic psychological needs of the adolescent. These include:

Love and security
Affection and warmth
Friendship
Understanding and sympathy
Encouragement
Confidence and self-esteem
Recognition and praise
Achievement and success
Appreciation and respect
Stimulation and challenge
Fun and adventure
New experiences
Emotional release
Practice in making decisions
A chance to make mistakes
Handling responsibility
Freedom within agreed limits
Sympathetic adult guidance
Trust
Sense of identity

Let us have a closer look at some of these needs.

Friendship

All young people share a strong need to establish friendship bonds not only with their peers but also with adults. Bonds with adults help to strengthen self-confidence. It is not evident whether Malaysian parents are actually psychologically and culturally prepared to play this role with their children. Although we do know of instances where such firm friendly bonds do occur between parents and offspring, the authoritarian relationship may be more prevalent. Certainly, friendship relations between teachers and pupils are rare in our secondary schools. In our primary schools, there are early signs that such bonds are strengthening, albeit tentatively, with the New Primary School Curriculum implemented last year (1983).

Allied to friendship is the search for a *role model*. Adolescents expect their elders to set ideal standards that they can look up to and emulate. Unfortunately, such roles and standards are difficult to establish or maintain. Young people get easily disillusioned and seek out role models from among entertainers, athletes, sportsmen and the like where excellence is more apparent.

Love and Affection

Often we hear parents and sometimes teachers complaining of their children's/pupils' ingratitude for not returning the love that parents/teachers have showered on them. Love is a seemingly simple concept but in practice, it can be very complicated. What parents and teachers claim to be love can even appear as oppression or authoritarianism to the child. The young are very sensitive to the quality of adults' orientations toward them. The love that they seek has to go hand in hand with affection, understanding and even constant firmness. Excessive and indulgent display of love can lead to spoiling rather than genuine caring.

Interests

In their natural state, the young have varied interests though, admittedly, of a transitional nature. These interests are nevertheless vital for keeping up a zest for life and for making mundane chores bearable and even stimulating. It may be that under the present pressure of academic work in schools and the lack of recreational facilities in the community, these interests either get nipped in the bud or are negatively channelled into undesirable pursuits like smoking, drugs and other deviant behaviours.

Discipline and Responsibility

Adolescents have great capacity for responsible behaviour and exercising a high degree of self-discipline. But, alas, our secondary schools have become so big and impersonal that it is difficult to provide for these experiences adequately. There are just not enough opportunities and situations for every adolescent to learn self-discipline and a sense of responsibility. To add to this problem, the child is exposed to so many irresponsible and indisciplined 'role models' around him within and outside the school. It has been said that a great deal of deviant behaviour among youngsters arose from their need to be disciplined. However, the way we educationists handle the deviant behaviour does not resolve the problem.

Environmental Pressures

The twentieth century has brought with it external pressures that further distort adolescent characteristics. With the onset of such pressures, the adolescent is left to make his/her own adjustments. Little help comes from the home or school. In face, the community sometimes becomes even hostile towards the adolescent upon manifestations of such stress symptoms. What are some of these environmental pressures?

Dislocation of the Authority Line

The traditional authority line between parents and children are fast breaking down. However, societal norms, as established by adults over many generations, still support authoritarian filial relationships. The promotion of an enquiring mind in school, in public life and in government tends to challenge such age old tradition and practice. What is the adult's answer to all of this? Can we contain this tide of challenge which we ourselves have brought about? If we cannot contain it, do we have a substitutive model for such relationships that will take care of the dislocation?

Value Conflicts

Traditional values are normally transmitted from generation to generation through a well established authority line. With this dislocation of the authority line, there is now no common sharing of what is considered accepted values between the generations. Instead, there is constant questioning of the place and importance of certain values by the young. This does not mean that the young does not have values. Rather, their interpretation and ranking of these values differ drastically from those of adults. But then, the overt behaviour of many adults in private and public life gives no reassurance to the young regarding their traditional place and role.

Enriched Environment

The last quarter of the twentieth century has brought in its wake a multitude of interests to tempt the young. It has reached a point when the young could easily be led to believe that indulging in all these interests is what life is all about (what a shuddering thought!). These interests are bound to multiply, taunting the young to their very limits. These are really distractions from the more fundamental concerns of personal worth and potentials. Through careful selection and guidance, these interests could provide the motivation and zeal required for the pursuit of those more fundamental concerns of life.

Success Syndrome

The pressures from parents, teachers and society at large to excel in school work and adult life is so great that very high standards are set at school. Many are unable to cope with this. More often than not, teachers are unable to lead pupils to achieve these high standards. Instead there is a barrage of censure for not keeping up.

Pampering

The rapid socio-economic changes that have taken place over the last three decades in this country has resulted in greater affluence among certain quarters of life. These affluent parents tend to pamper their children with a life style they themselves did not enjoy. 'I would like to give my child what I myself could not get from my own parents' is a maxim that seems to act as a driving force towards this indulgence. Children of such parents see the easy side of life and imagine that the world owes them a living . The discipline of hard work, thrift and perseverance are not acquired. They indulge themselves in a variety of interests, some of which can be very costly. These could be momentary pasttimes or habit forming. What is of grave concern is that not all these interests are suitable for the young.

Knowledge Explosion

With the economic, scientific and technological advancements made after the Second World War, there has been a knowledge explosion of unprecedented quantity and volume. Adolescents in school are faced with an increasing curriculum content load. There has not been much emphasis in our teaching and learning strategies on ways of acquiring this knowledge through self-study, self-learning methods, information retrieval and the like. The tendency is to cram as much of this knowledge as possible into our students.

The adolescent of today has to travel from the more secure innocence of childhood to the desired destination of adulthood through a perilous and hazardous path. *Tan Sri* Murad Mohd. Noor, the Director-General of Education, Malaysia, has perceptively and aptly analysed the phenomena and dilemma that confront educationists.

> I would like to suggest that these (phenomena) are outcomes of change which come about due to the tension between the forces of materialism that bring in their wake a new rationality and modernity that erode and, in some cases, destroy social institutions with its traditions, its value systems, and its morality.
> I believe that why we experience all these trauma and uncertainty is because in the process of adapting to the material order, we have compromised our traditions, morality and value system. We thought it was the modern thing to do, to keep with the times. And so we kept aping others. And everytime we did that, we compromised our traditions, our morality and our value systems. In the end, we are left with nothing of the old order which shapes our lives and gives meaning and purpose to what we do. And so we try to operate our lives on the norms of formal rationality based on the materialistic consideration, some on pure materialism, while some on a corrupt version of it .... Man cannot base his morality on the rationality of materialism.

DIRECTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Having examined the basic psychological needs of adolescents and appreciating the heavy socio-ecological and educational pressures that beset them in their hazardous journey to adulthood, how do we begin to alleviate our secondary schools from the backwaters of materialistic rationality? As a matter of fact, our school system has undergone tremendous changes pedagogically, organisationally and administratively over the last quarter of a century. However, these changes have been more quantitative than qualitative in nature. In some cases, the changes have been cosmetic and even superficial. The secondary school still has a long way to go to contend with the complex nature of adolescent problems it has to face.

The secondary school needs improvement along several dimensions Briefly these can be summarised thus:

(1) A review of the philosophy and goals of education; are we too engrossed with rationalising materialistic orientations to the detriment of moral and humanistic values?
(2) A change in overall climate of the school and classroom from an authoritarian atmosphere to a more democratic surrounding.
(3) The development and sustenance of more humane contact between teachers and pupils.
(4) Shedding of the curriculum load to more realistic levels and content.
(5) Improving teaching styles and techniques of teachers. More active pupil participation in learning is to be encouraged.
(6) The practice of values beyond the classroom should be enhanced and properly consolidated with classroom practice.
(7) Overall performance of pupils over a longer period should be given priority in terms of continuous pupil evaluation rather than have it based on only one examination.

Curriculum Implications

Too often in the past, we have heard criticisms to the effect that our schools are more interested in teaching rather than educating our youngsters. It is sometimes questioned if this is not true in view of what we prescribe (or suggest) in our courses of studies (for example, syllabuses and teachers' guides) and what we know in terms of classroom strategies used by teachers in schools.

One just needs to look at any current secondary school syllabus to find listings of objectives and content to be *taught*, accompanied perhaps by some pedagogical hints on *how* the teaching is to be done. These listings may or may not have taken into consideration the needs and interests of the learners. Even if they have, these considerations are usually implicit rather than explicit.

If we accept the *educational* definition of curriculum to be the sum total of all teaching-learning activities and experiences in a school, then curricular listings as referred to previously are insufficient.

> Of course they are not meant to be comprehensive and all-encompassing, says the curriculum planner and developer. The curriculum comes to life in the hands of the teacher, the implementer. And it is the teacher who should relate the curriculum to the needs,

interests and aptitude of the children they teach in order to ensure the total educational experience.

Thus, the ball is kicked back to the teacher's side of the court. However, does the answer really rest with the teacher alone? Does the curriculum planner not have a responsibility in ensuring that this total meaningful educational experience will take place?

To my mind, the curriculum planner does have a significant role beyond the generating of mere listings of objectives and content. He is dealing not just with the nature and intricacies of the subject matter to be taught through various subjects in the school curriculum but more so with holistic considerations in the realm of educational philosophy, psychology, sociology and technology.

Whether he realises it or not, the curriculum planner is operating at a very basic level of human, societal and political engineering. His statement of curriculum goals and objectives are signposts for the directions this engineering is to pursue. But if he is not careful in his engineering approach and strategy, he may just be making lofty but empty enunciations of intent. For example, if he is too preoccupied with manpower demands and other 'adult' utilitarian considerations, and allows the actual needs and aspirations of the pupils to take a back seat, his curriculum may come up against some painful jolts in the course of its implementation.

The curriculum in its broad sense should deal not only with teaching-learning objectives and content but also teaching-learning strategies and ways of organising and influencing the school, home and community environment. The perceptions and motivations of the adolescent are basically influenced by environmental factors. The young need a great deal of guidance and reassurance while experimenting with the environment. The line separating experiment and reality is such a thin one in the life of an adolescent. Real-life situations tend to emerge suddenly and there is a greater probability for mistakes in dealing with these situations. However, mistakes ought to be allowed and forgiven as long as one learns from them.

Basic Thrust

The curriculum should strive to meet with the full adolescent development of the child through several approaches, for example:

Understanding and analysing prevalent pressures and challenges.
Adjusting to these pressures and gaining a sense of security and self-confidence.
Establishing healthy adult-adolescent relationships.
Establishing worthwhile goals and/or making goals seem worthwhile.

Specific Curricular Contributions

The curricular contributions towards the realisation of the full potential of the adolescent needs to be multi-pronged.

Through Teaching/Learning Strategies

The overriding concern in dealing with adolescents would be to establish healthy teacher-pupil relationships. These could be established through the following means:

(a) Teachers should help pupils go beyond the prescribed content of a discipline and deal with the basic relevance of the discipline to mankind as a whole and to the community and the individual in particular.

(b) Moral and ethical questions related to the content need to be aired freely and discussed – pupils need to be encouraged to formulate their own conclusions for whatever they are worth. Any contribution is worthwhile contribution. Doubts, fears and misgivings are to be freely expressed. Through such emotional release comes acceptability of oneself and respect for the views of others. Bonds are also established.

(c) Above all, pupils are to be helped to understand their own strengths and weaknesses through a realistic appraisal of themselves. Their weaknesses are not permanent features and can be remedied. Strengths can be further improved.

(d) Teacher-pupil relationships need to be reviewed as follows:

   Teachers need to get closer to pupils as individuals.

   Teachers need to understand the thinking processes and emotional states of their pupils through formal interactions in class as well as through informal links.

   Counselling services should not be regarded as being merely 'clinical'. The greater responsibility of counselling is to reach the pupil and, through an understanding of the inner make-up of the person, to provide guidance on vocational and other emotional or practical matters.

   Every teacher should accept counselling and character development of his pupils as a primary responsibility.

   Pre-service and in-service teacher training programmes and courses need to accord primary importance to these concerns.

   Teacher's guides should include information and guidance on the teachers' role in adolescent development.

Through Curriculum Content

(a) A holistic view of the entire curriculum is to be taken across subject and content areas so that adolescent development is taken into account. Such knowledge is to contribute towards an understanding of personal growth in terms of values, personality traits and growth characteristics and adjustment, and emotional adjustment interactional modes.

(b) Opportunities for consolidating and summarising information regarding adolescent growth and adjustment needs to be built into subjects as much as possible and across subject areas through particular curriculum areas like social studies, moral education etc.

(c) Reading material covering these concerns are to be identified, compiled and prescribed both for the teacher and pupils. Libraries should have more adolescent-related books and materials.

(d) More real life situations taken from personal experiences and the mass media are to be included in the teaching-learning strategies.

(e) Subjects like moral education, religious education, social studies and languages should accord adolescent development high priority.

(f) One important developmental task the curriculum could promote is the ability of the child to discriminate and choose when faced with alternatives. In such situations, one has to devise criteria for making choices based on personal as well as global perspectives. Discrimination based on good taste and sound judgement is what consumer education is all about.

Through Accountability

Situations could deliberately be created within the classroom, in school, at home and in the community where adolescents are given responsibilities which enable them to interact with others and through this, exercise judgement and account for their actions. This is a very effective way of encouraging pupils to assess themselves under pressure.

Whatever renovation we do in the area of curriculum planning or school management, we need to keep in our minds that the adolescent is 'a traveller who has left one place and has not reached the next'. Our exploration into the world of the adolescent just now shows how hazardous and lonesome this journey is. He needs all the friendship, warmth, understanding and patient guidance that we adults can give to help him make that journey. A curriculum programme prepared by planners should be sensitive to these needs and if handled by teachers who *care*, it can go a long way towards making this journey more comfortable and meaningful.

Whether our secondary education in Malaysia is heading in this direction in the near or distant future depends a great deal on what is being done now.

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Symposium III

SYMPOSIUM III A : Achievement and Its Correlates

CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor Ling Chu Poh*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. Darlan Zaini*

Children's Perception of Control and Academic Achievement

Maznah Ismail and Choo Piang Foong

INTRODUCTION

As academic success continues to play a major role in a person's economic and social mobility, the search for factors to explain individual differences in academic performance will continue to attract the interest of both the psychologists as well as the educators. An area that has generated considerable research activities concerns the relationship between a person's perceived control of events and academic performance. Rotter (1966) in studying children's perception of causality states that a person with internal locus of control is inclined to believe that he has control over events that occur in his life, whereas a person with external locus of control believes that rewards and punishments are not contingent upon his behaviour. Therefore, as suggested by the social learning theorists, a person with internal locus of control is inclined to be more industrious and successful as opposed to those with external locus of control who tend to be dormant and less successful.

Studies using internal beliefs as a variable in intellectual-academic performance have produced consistent evidence associating internality with high achievement. For example, Crandall, Katkovsky and Preston (1962) found that internality was related to the amount of time boys spent in intellectual activities during free play and the intensity with which they pursued these activities. No such relationships were found for girls. Chance (1965), using pupils from third to fifth grades, found that high internal boys and girls obtained higher scores in reading, arithmetic and spelling. A study by McGhee and Crandall (1968) showed that high internal subjects consistently obtained higher scores in reading, mathematics and language than low internals. However, for the girls, internal beliefs for success and failure could predict equally well their academic performance whereas for the boys, their internal beliefs for failure were associated with their academic achievement rather than their internal beliefs for success. Messer (1972), using fourth-grade boys and girls, also found that the internals had higher school grades than the externals. However, Messer (1972) found that internal beliefs for failure provided better prediction for girls performance while internal beliefs for success provided better prediction for boys, their internal beliefs for failure being associated more with their academic achievement than their internal beliefs for success. Messer (1972), using fourth-grade boys and girls, also found that the internals had higher school grades than the externals. However, Messer (1972) found that internal beliefs for failure provided better prediction for girls' performance while internal beliefs for success provided better prediction for boys' performance.

A British validation study by Reid and Croucher (1980) provided further evidence of superior attainment on arithmetic and vocabulary of high internal subjects. The evidence provided by these studies appear to indicate that individual differences in internal beliefs could be a useful variable to explain variation in academic performance. In Malaysia, the area on locus of control and its relationship to academic performance has not received much research interest. The present study attempts to examine this relationship in the context of the Malaysian situation.

Several instruments have been devised to measure the locus of control. One of these is the Crandall Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire (IAR), (Crandall, Katkovsky and Crandall, 1965). This instrument was designed for school-aged children, and it purports to assess their perception of the causality for events that occur in academic and intellectual situations. The internal forces are confined to the child while the external forces encompasses only people who have daily face-to-face contact with the child such as the parents and the teachers. The scale consists of 34 forced-choice items equally divided into positive and negative statements of events in academic achievement situations. The I+ subscore is based on the summation of a child's responses to the positive statements while the I– subscore is based on the summation of their responses to the negative statements. His total score (I_{total}) is the sum of his I+ and I– subscores. In the present study, the Crandall IAR was used to measure the pupils' sense of responsibility for their academic success and failure.

METHOD

Sample

The sample consisted of 729 standard three pupils, 406 of whom were boys and 323 were girls. All of them were attending schools in the rural areas.

Instrument

The Crandall IAR was translated into the national language by the research officers of the University of Science Malaysia research project teams and one of the authors of this paper. The translated version was tried out on a group of standard three pupils, and the necessary modifications were made to ensure that the children understood the questions in the scale.

Procedure

The IAR was administered to the sample in small groups by the research officers of the project. In order to minimise variability in presentation, the questions were taped and administered in this fashion. The pupils were also given printed version of the scale from which they could follow the recorded presentation and then record their own responses. Using a group of 100 pupils, the scale was administered to them after a period of a week in order to obtain estimates of the test-retest reliability for I+, I– and for male and females students.

The achievement scores for the National Language, English, Arithmetic and Science were obtained from a group within the sample (N = 665) and these scores were correlated with the pupils' scores on the IAR.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Means and Standard Deviations of IAR Scores

Tabel 1 shows the means and standard deviations of the IAR scores for boys, girls and the total sample. The results are comparable to those obtained by Crandall and others for their grade three sample. The trend found in Crandall's study in which the girls tended to score higher than the

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviation of IAR Scores

Subjects	N	Itotal		I+		I–	
		Means	SD	Means	SD	Means	SD
All	729	21.54	4.09	11.27	2.39	10.28	2.54
Males	406	21.18	4.09	10.99	2.39	10.19	2.53
Females	323	22.03**	4.05	11.61*	2.33	10.39	2.56

* $p < 0.05$
** $p < 0.01$

boys on I+ was also found in the present study. Table 1 shows that the girls' score for I+ is significantly higher than the boys. However, the tendency for the boys to score higher than the girls on I–, as identified in Crandall's study, was not found in the present study. In the present study, boys scored lower than girls on I– although the difference was not significant.

Split-half reliabilities were computed separately for I+ and I– subscores. The correlations obtained were 43 and 47 for I–. The correlations were somewhat lower than those obtained by Crandall *et al.* (1965) from a group consisting of third, fourth and fifth graders (N = 130).

The correlation between I+ and I– was .39. This figure was higher than that obtained for the younger sample in the Crandall's study but it was identical with that obtained for their sixth grade children. The somewhat higher association of the subscale scores of the Malaysian sample suggests that irrespective of the outcome of their efforts, the Malaysian children appeared to generalise their beliefs about assuming responsibility for successful academic experiences to their beliefs about assuming responsibility for failure experiences.

Table 2 shows the estimates of test-retest reliability for the total sample and male and female pupils. While the reliabilities for the total sample for I+ and I– were lower than those obtained by Crandall (Crandall, et *al.*, 1965) for their younger sample, the reliability for Itotal was comparable to that obtained by Crandall. Table 2 also reveals sex difference in that reliabilities for Itotal, I+ and I– for girls tended to be higher than those obtained for boys ($p < 0.01$).

Table 2
Estimates of Test - Retest Reliability

Internal Belief	Total Sample (N = 100)	Males (N = 59)	Females (N = 4)
I_{total}	.61 (.69)	.56	.61
I+	.47 (.66)	.42	.57
I–	.48 (.74)	.39	.63

Note. Figures in parentheses are those reported by Crandall *et. al.* (1965).

Correlations between IAR Scores and Academic Performance

It was possible to obtain the test marks of 665 of the pupils who completed the IAR. The total test marks computed for the National Language, the English Language, Arithmetic and Science was correlated with IAR scores. As shown in Table 3, the correlations obtained for the total sample were .52 with Itotal, .49 with I+ and .38 with I–.

Table 3
Correlations between IAR Scores and Academic Performance

Subjects	N	Itotal	I+	I–
All	665	.52	.49	.38
Males	361	.49	.49	.35
Females	304	.54	.47	.42

Note. All correlations are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).

These results appear to be in agreement with those of Crandall *et. al.* (1965) which reported significant positive correlation between Itotal scores and various achievement test scores and report-card grades for grade 3. The results of the present study are also in line with those found by Reid and Crouchers (1980) who also noted that while both I+ and I– appeared to be valid predictors of attainment, I+ had higher correlation than I– with attainment.

Relationship between IAR Subscores and School Subjects

Using the median scores, the sample was split into high and low groups for Itotal, I+, and I–. These groups' academic performance was compared in terms of their marks for the National Language, the English Language, Arithmetic, Science and the total aggregate.

As shown in Table 4, girls performed better than boys across the four school subjects ($p < 0.01$). Furthermore, for both sexes, high internals consistently scored better than low internals ($p < 0.01$). The latter findings provide support for other data on the relationship between IAR scores and academic performance (e.g. McGhee and Crandall, 1968; Chance, 1955 Messer, 1972 and Romanis, 1973).

The results of the analyses of variance with IAR subscores and sex as independent variables and the marks for the four school subjects as the dependent variables show that for all the school marks and sex, IAR subscores emerge as the significant main effects ($p < 0.01$).

Except for the National Language marks ($p < 0.05$), there was no sex difference by IAR subscores interaction effects for the other three school marks.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the present study generally support the data from otner studies which revealed that high internals tended to perform better academically than low internals (Crandall *et. al.*, 1965; Read and Croucher, 1980). A variation found in the present study was that girls exceeded boys on both I+ and I– which suggested that the girls more so than the boys in the Malaysian culture are socialised to feel responsible for their success as well as for their failure. The higher school marks obtained by the girls

Table 4

Mean Achievement Scores for High and Low Internal Subjects by Sex

Internal Belief	Level	National Language		English		Arithmetic		Science		Total	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
I_{total}	Hi	77.35	84.79	45.94	50.31	62.31	67.77	65.01	70.35	250.61	273.21
	Lo	56.50	71.43	36.16	41.72	45.72	52.34	48.62	56.74	187.24	222.23
I+	Hi	76.36	84.25	46.05	51.07	62.76	67.08	63.50	69.66	248.67	272.06
	Lo	58.67	73.07	36.68	41.61	46.59	54.32	50.97	58.57	192.91	227.58
I-	Hi	75.49	85.03	45.11	50.78	60.40	67.08	64.27	70.65	245.26	237.54
	Lo	58.92	72.34	37.26	41.98	48.28	54.40	49.85	57.62	194.32	226.34

Note. All pairwise comparisons are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).

appear to be related to their greater sense of responsibility for the outcome of their performance. The results also suggest the usefulness of considering reinforcement of responsibility as a factor in the management of the learning process in the classroom.

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Achievement Motivation and Attribution of Success in Rural and Urban Malaysian Ethnic Groups **

Wan Rafaei Abdul Rahman

The paper reported a study on achievement motivation (McClelland approach) and attribution of success (Weiner's approach) in rural and urban Malaysian ethnic groups.

The sample included 450 school children comprising 180 Malays, 137 Chinese and 133 Indians from rural and urban schools, aged between 11–15 years old. Thematic aperception tests as well as a questionnaire, designed to measure attribution of success, were administered to the sample.

It would appear that the Chinese had higher achievement motivation than the Malays. This was consistent with McClelland's theory that the more enterprising group was the more achievement motivated. The higher achievement motivation of the Chinese was attributed to the higher motivation scores of the urban Chinese.

The fact that urban Malays had higher achievement motivation than their rural counterparts was understandable as most of the economic activities take place in the urban areas. The rural-urban migration also resulted in an accumulation of more achievement motivated individuals in the urban centres.

The results showed the urban Malays had higher scores on ability and effort than the Chinese. This was not consistent with Weiner's contention that those high in achievement motivation (TAT) attributed success more to ability and effort. The Chinese would be expected to score higher on ability and effort. The high scores on ability and effort of the Malays were attributed to the high scores of the rural subjects.

This result might reflect the more optimistic disposition of the Malays with respect to the opportunities that were made available to them. However, taking the subjects as a whole, the Malays who were high on achievement motivation (TAT) attributed success more to ability and luck than those who were low in achievement motivation. This suggested that there was some evidence to support Weiner's contention.

The results showed that the Chinese were highly achievement motivated but cautious in their attribution of success to ability and luck. The Malays were not as highly achievement motivated as the Chinese but they were very optimistic in their attribution of success to ability and effort. The Indians were low in achievement motivation and cautious in their attribution of success to ability and luck.

There appeared to be some support for the McClelland's approach as the TAT scores depicted the general picture prevalent among the Malays. More work needs to be done especially with the measure in the case of the Weiner's approach.

An implication from this study was that it might be possible to train those low in achievement motivation so that they could be motivated to become successful entrepreneurs.

The Development Pattern of Achievement Motive in Relation to Prolonged Deprivation **

Ashta Nand Tiwari

The present paper reports results of an empirical study related to psychological consequences of living under impoverished conditions in a natural life setting. In view of the fact that the majority of the Indian population is below the poverty line, it appears that a comprehensive analysis of the psychological characteristics of a sample of the population is a prerequisite for any meaningful attempt at changing the level of economic development and quality of life of the people. Unfortunately, realisation of these issues have been delayed due to over concern with problems of research originating in other countries. However, in the last decade, considerable rethinking has been made by some psychologists about these problems.

In this connection, the present paper is based upon a systematic and empirical study of a related set of phenomena which have attracted the attention of many psychologists as well as scholars of other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, education and economics. The far-reaching complex ramifications of the impact of deprivation are being increasingly appreciated in social and behavioural sciences. Using prolonged experiential deprivation as a major variable, the researcher has sought to establish its relationship with the growth of achievement motive.

The present study, in a R-R paradigm, attempts at investigating the relationship between an individual's experiental background (deprivation) and age and growth of achievement motivation.

The study was conducted on a sample of 150 males ranging from 7 to 25 years of age drawn from the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh. When the developmental trend of achievement motive (n-Ach) was analysed within the framework of prolonged deprivation, the results revealed a clear developmental trend showing a consistent increase in mean scores of n-Ach with age levels and different deprivation groups. There was a significant interaction between age and deprivation which jointly determine the level of achievement motive. This means that with increases in age, people become more achievement oriented, establishing that the growth of n-Ach is shaped by the individual's experiential background.

SYMPOSIUM III B : The Tree Drawing Test: a Measurement of Cognitive Development

CHAIRPERSON *Mrs. Hera L. Mikarsa*
RAPPORTEUR *Mr. T. Vasudevan*

The Impact of Natural and Cultural Environment on Japanese Children in Singapore: a Case Study of Cultural Change

Kimio Yoshikawa and K. Loganathan Mutharayan

INTRODUCTION

A new type of projective test, 'Tree-Test', has been found useful to investigate the unconscious organisation of the psychological factors that determine the cognitive development and personality factors of children. A pilot study was made among Malaysian children in the states of Penang, Perak and Kedah in 1981 and the findings were reported at the Third Asian Regional Conference of IACCP on May, 1983 (Yoshikawa and Mutharayan). At about the same time, a similar test was conducted among the Japanese children in Singapore and the present report contains the findings of this study.

In the Tree Drawing Test, children are asked to draw a tree bearing fruits and the tree thus drawn is subjected to a variety of analysis to elucidate the gestaltic organisation of the psychological functions of the subjects. An important analysis is with respect to the overall *form* of the tree drawn. There exists a variety of *forms: B, C, R, P* and *M* (Table 1) with each having also a juvenile *form: Bi, Ci, Ri, Pi* and *Mi* (Yoshikawa, 1978). Studies have shown that this overall *form* can be taken as reflective of the overall organisation of the personality of the subjects. The *form* also reveals the influences of ecological and cultural factors in the psychological functioning of the subjects and the level of cognitive maturity in all of them. From our earlier studies (Yoshikawa and Mutharayan, 1983), it emerged that the ecological and cultural factors become quite dominant particularly among children in the *lower* primary schools both in Malaysia and Japan (Yoshikawa, 1976, Nakao and Yoshikawa, 1979a, 1979b; Nakao, Iwaki and Yoshikawa, 1982; Iwaki, Nakao and Yoshikawa, 1982).

Table 1
Classification of BAUM Form and Its Abbreviation from Adults to Infants

Form	Abbreviation	BAUM Form
Adult Form	B	Basic form
	C	Crown form
	R	Radial form
	P	Palm form
	M	Musa form
Juvenile Form	Bi	Basic-infant form
	Ci	Crown-infant form
	Ri	Radial-infant form
	Pi	Palm-infant form
	Mi	Musa-infant form
Accompanying	H	Humanoid form
Infant Form	Bo	Basicoid form
	Co	Crownoid form
	Ro	Radialoid form
	Po	Palmoid form
	Mo	Musaoid form
Under-infant Form	Io	Infantoid form
Rambling Form	II	Infant-infant form
Other Form	T	Trunk form
	A	Abstract form
	F	Fungus form
	G	Grass form
	No	Non-drawing

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Tree-Test (Tree Drawing Test) was conducted among the primary school children and the junior high school pupils of the Japanese School in Singapore in 1981. The number of children and sex differences are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Details of Children Tested

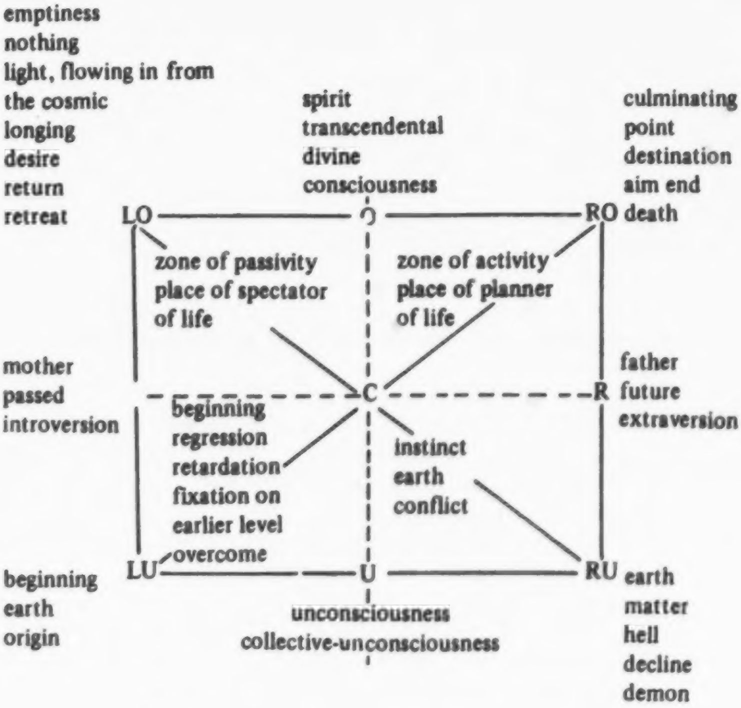
Standard	Male	Female	Total
1	20	17	37
2	20	21	41
3	18	17	35
4	22	19	41
5	19	23	42
6	18	19	37
Total	117	116	233

Instructions given were as follows:

(1) Please draw a tree bearing fruits.
(2) Please draw within 10 minutes with a soft pencil.
(3) You can use a pencil eraser.
(4) You can use the drawing paper horizontally or vertically.
(5) If you cannot draw a tree bearing fruits, please draw a tree of any type.
(6) Do not refer to a live free or picture.
(7) Write the following on the reverse side of the drawing paper:
    (a) Name, date of birth and sex.
    (b) Height (cm.) and weight (kg.) of your body.
    (c) Name of tree you have drawn.
    (d) Date on which the children are given drawing paper (210 x 297 mm^2, A4 size) and a soft pencil.

This test requires a non-verbal response and therefore it can be applied to any person from a child to an adult, irrespective of differences in sex or culture. Furthermore, the method is quite easy to administer and more economical than many other projective methods. It can also be administered individually or in groups.

The term BAUM is used to designate the tree *drawn.* For example, if some children draw an apple tree, we call the drawing 'BAUM apple' and if another one draws a palm tree, then 'BAUM palm' and so forth. We take the holistic approach (Smuts, 1926) to analyse the form of the tree-drawn (BAUM) in contrast with the analytical approach of Koch (Koch, 1952 and 1957). The tree drawn by the children is taken to represent their total image (total personality). Therefore we analyse BAUM into *form* and then space symbolism (space configuration) in which we are concerned with the locality of the BAUM in the paper. We look at the total image (crown and trunk) and calculate its centre of gravity to specify its space configuration (Figure 1). In this study, however, we report only the *form* analysis of BAUM in relation to the cultural and ecological variables.


emptiness
nothing
light, flowing in from
the cosmic
longing
desire
return
retreat
spirit
transcendental
divine
consciousness
culminating
point
destination
aim end
death
LO
O
RO
zone of passivity
place of spectator
of life
zone of activity
place of planner
of life
mother
passed
introversion
C
R
father
future
extraversion
beginning
regression
retardation
fixation on
earlier level
overcome
instinct
earth
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LU
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beginning
earth
origin
unconsciousness
collective-unconsciousness
earth
matter
hell
decline
demon

Figure 1: Space Configuration After Grnward

Table 3
Frequency Distribution of Tree-Form of Primary Children (Std. 1–4) in the Japanese School in Singapore, 1981

Std.	Sex	Tree-form Grade												
		Io	Bo	Co	Ro	Po	Mo	Bl	Cl	Rl	Pl	Ml	R	
1	M		5 (25-.0)	5 (25.0)		4 (20.0)			2 (10.0)		4 (20.0)			20
	F			3 (17.6)		3 (17.6)	2 (11.8)	1 (5.9)	6 (35.3)	1 (5.9)	1 (5.9)			17
	T		5 (13.5)	8 (21.6)	0	7 (18.9)	2 (5.4)	1 (2.7)	8 (21.6)	1 (2.7)	5 (13.5)			37
2	M		5 (25.0)	3 (15.0)	2 (10.0)	4 (20.0)			2 (10,0)	4 (20.0)				20
	F		1 (4.8)		2 (9.5)	3 (34.3)		1 (4.8)	10 (47.6)	1 (4.8)	3 (14.3)			21
	T		6 (14.6)	3 (7.3)	4 (9.8)	7 (17.1)	0	1 (2.4)	12 (29.3)	1 (2.4)	7 (17.1)			41
3	M		2 (11.1)	2 (11.1)		9 (50.0)	1 (5.6)		3 (16.7)		1 (5.6)			18
	F			2 (11.8)		6 (35.3)	2 (11.8)	1 (5.9)	5 (29.4)	1 (5.9)				17
	T		2 (5.7)	4 (11.4)	0	15 (42.9)	3 (8.6)	1 (2.9)	8 (22.9)	1 (2.9)	1 (2.9)			35
4	M		1 (4.5)	1 (4.5)		4 (18.2)		1 (4.5)	4 (18.2)	2 (9.1)	8 (36.4)	1 (4.5)		22
	F	1 (5.3)							5 (26.3)	3 (15.8)	9 (47.4)			19
	T	1 (2.4)	1 (2.4)	1 (2.4)		4 (9.8)		1 (2.4)	9 (22.0)	5 (12.2)	17 (2.4)	1 (2.4)		41

Notes. In Tables 3 and 4, M = male, F = female and T = total. Figures within brackets are in percentages.

Table 4
Frequency Distribution of Tree-Form of Primary Children (Std. 5–6) in the Japanese School in Singapore, 1981

Std.	Sex	Tree-form Grade										
		Bo	Bi	Ci	Ri	Pi	Mi	B	C	R	P	
5	M	–	–	4 (21.1)	–	11 (58.9)	–	–	–	–	4 (21.1)	19
	F	–	1 (4.4)	1 (4.4)	3 (13.0)	11 (47.8)	–	–	1 (4.4)	–	6 (26.1)	23
	T	–	1 (2.4)	5 (11.9)	3 (7.1)	22 (52.4)	–	–	1 (2.4)	–	10 (23.8)	42
6	M	–	–	2 (11.1)	–	10 (55.6)	1 (5.6)	–	1 (5.6)	–	4 (22.2)	18
	F	1 (5.3)	–	4 (21.1)	–	7 (36.8)	–	–	3 (15.8)	2 (10.5)	2 (10.5)	19
	T	1 (2.7)	–	6 (16.2)	–	17 (45.9)	1 (2.7)	–	4 (10.8)	2 (5.4)	6 (16.2)	37

Table 5
Component of Two Main Natural Tree Group in Each Year Grade of Primary Children in the Japanese School in Singapore, 1981

	Tropical Tree			Temperate Trees		
Year Grade	No. of Individuals	Accumulation: No. of Individuals	%	No. of Individuals	Accumulation: No. of Individuals	%
1	16 (37)	16 (37)	43.2 (43.2)	21 (37)	21 (37)	56.8 (56.8)
2	16 (41)	32 (78)	39.0 (41.0)	25 (41)	46 (78)	61.0 (59.0)
3	20 (35)	52 (113)	57.1 (46.0)	15 (35)	61 (113)	42.9 (54.0)
4	29 (41)	81 (154)	70.7 (52.6)	12 (41)	73 (154)	29.3 (47.4)
5	32 (42)	113 (196)	76.2 (57.7)	10 (42)	83 (196)	23.8 (42.3)
6	25 (37)	138 (233)	67.6 (59.2)	12 (37)	95 (233)	32.4 (40.8)

Note. In Tables 5 to 7, figures within brackets are in percentages.

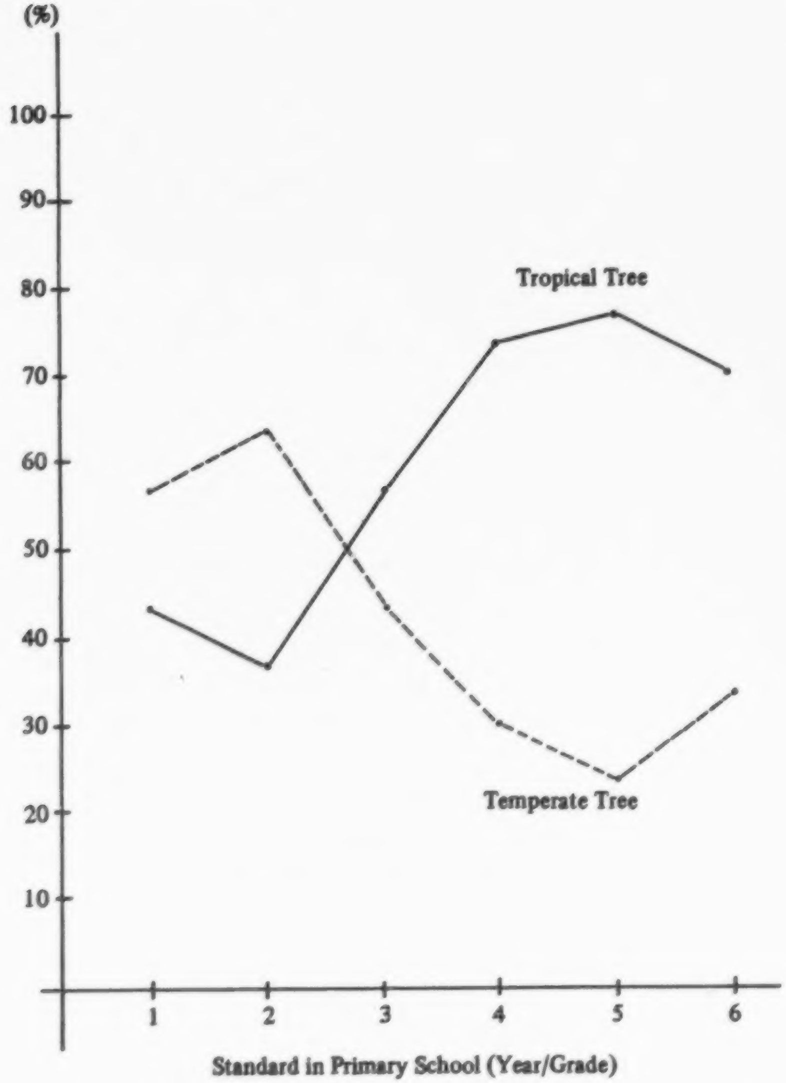

Figure 2. Comparison Between Tropical and Temperate Trees in Tree-Test Under a Probability Distribution of Japanese Primary School Children in Singapore, 1981.

Table 6
Distribution of Interrelationship between BAUM-form and Duration of Stay of Primary Children of the Japanese School in Singapore, 1981

Duration (year)	Tree-form Grade						
	Io	B (Bo+Bi)	C (Co+Ci)	R (Ro+Ri)	P (Po+Pi)	M (Mo+Mi)	Total
1		8 (15.4)	19 (36.5)	5 (9.6)	19 (36.5)	1 (1.9)	52 (99.9)
2	1	3 (5.3)	16 (28.1)	7 (12.3)	29 (50.9)	2 (3.5)	57 (100.1)
3	1 (1.6)	3 (4.8)	19 (30.2)	2 (3.2)	35 (55.5)	3 (4.8)	63 (100.1)
4		5 (18.5)	4 (14.8)	2 (7.4)	15 (55.6)	1 (3.7)	27 (100.0)
5			3	1	6		10
6					5		5
7			2	1	3		6
8		2	1	1	1		5
9					1		1
10			1				1
11			1				1
12					1		1

Table 7
BAUM Form in Relation To Duration of Stay of Primary Children of the Japanese School in Singapore, 1981

Duration of Stay	Tropical Tree	Temperate Tree
1	21 (41.2)	30 (58.8)
2	37 (67.3)	18 (32.7)
3	40 (67.8)	19 (32.2)
4	19 (73.1)	7 (26.9)
5	7 (70.0)	3 (30.0)
6	5 (100.0)	0
7	3 (50.0)	3 (50.0)
8	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)
9	1 (100.0)	0
10	0	1 (100.0)
11	0	1 (100.0)
12	1 (100.0)	0
Total	136 (61.5)	85 (38.5)

RESULTS

The trees drawn by Japanese children domiciled in Singapore for varying periods reveal some interesting features in cultural and ecological adaptation. The form of trees drawn by children is shown in Tables 3 and 4. The tables reveal that the children in Standard 4 were *more diverse* in their production of juvenile forms than those in Standard 2 who mainly drew the lowest form (infantoid form, *Bo, Co, Ro, Po* and *Mo*), a situation quite similar to that prevailing in Japan. However, children in Standard 6 began to show some important differences. The tropical Palm-Form (P + Pi) began to dominate and was seen to be 60% more than in Standard 2 and 4. What is more interesting is that this frequency is almost the same as that of Malaysian school children in the same standard (Yoshikawa and Mutharayan, 1983).

The period of domicile of the Japanese children is an important factor in this change. The change begins to show when the type of tree drawn shifts from being a temperate to a tropical one (Table 5). This change is most rapid in the first year of stay and reaches the level of children in the tropics i.e. 60% tropical trees in about a year (Figure 2). Subsequent to this, there is hardly any shift. Children who have stayed for 1.5–2 years have the same frequency level (Tables 6 and 7). This shows that the Japanese children are maximally affected by the new environment in their first year of stay during which they eventually become 'tropicalised' in their functioning. This shift may also be indicative of other cultural adaptations as the form is reflective of a total gestaltic change in the psychological processes, a matter that remains to be investigated.

DISCUSSION

Japanese children who have stayed overseas create problems on returning home. Quite a number of them find it difficult to re-adapt themselves to Japanese culture. This is becoming one of the most important problems of Japanese children who have stayed overseas for some time. This article is the first quantitative analysis of culture change of Japanese children. Yoshikawa (1981), using the same method, had studied also the culture change of the Vietnamese who have been displaced but not all of them indicated some form of culture change. Almost all of them drew a Palm-Form, the exception being a girl who drew a Crown-Form. She, too, was found to have been working in a Japanese commercial office. It must be mentioned that Vietnamese tested had only stayed in Japan for a few months.

An important contribution of the present study to such a problem is that while about 60% of the Japanese children who have stayed overseas for more than a year may suffer some form of 'culture shock', about

40% of them may not have such problems at all. Also, it appears that at least a year is necessary for the new cultural and ecological factors to exercise any influence on the psychology of children.

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Cultural Change From Pre-Adolescence to Adolescence of Japanese School Pupils in Singapore: a Case Study Using a Projective Method **

Fuminari Nagano and Kimio Yoshikawa

Ecological and cultural factors have some impact on children as they develop from pre-adolescence to adolescence. The present study attempts to identify some of the unconscious factors affecting development which is activated by ecological and cultural factors. The Tree Drawing Test, a projective method, is used to achieve the purpose of this study.

The sample consists of 97 Japanese pupils in a junior high school in Singapore. They are in Grade 1, 2 and 3.

Results show that the tree drawn, known as BAUM-form, changes from the juvenile to adult form. The adult form of BAUM is quite realistic and is close to the natural features.

Examining the type of trees drawn, 60% of the first grade in junior high school drew predominantly palms trees. This percentage is close to that of Standard 6 students in primary schools. The drawings of the second and third grade of junior high school indicate a re-emergence of the earlier form. The re-emergence of temperate trees may be indicative of the reactivation of cultural forces of early childhood which was temporarily suppressed by new environmental forces.

Cognitive Processes of the Mentally Retarded, the Slow Learners and the Handicapped Using the Tree Drawing Test

Shripati Upadhyaya and K. Loganatha Mutharayan

INTRODUCTION

Picture-drawing techniques as a measure of cognitive functions and personality have been popular with educationists and psychologists. As early as 1926, Goodenough developed a standardised procedure for evaluating the intelligence of children from their drawings of a man. At about the same period, Emil Jucker introduced the 'Tree Drawing Test' in vocational guidance settings which was carried further in more elaborate manner by Charles Koch (1952). To date, existing picture drawing techniques are: Draw-a-Man test or D-A-M (Goodenough, 1926), House-Tree-Person or H-T-P technique (Buck, 1948), Draw-a-Person or D-A-P test (Machover, 1949) and the Tree Test (Koch, 1952).

Picture drawings became an important tool with psychodynamic therapists who used it as a projective technique. It was assumed that by drawing pictures, the person reveals his structuring principles which is in fact his own psychological structure without even being aware that he is doing so. Thus through the mechanism of projection, a person revealed his inner thoughts, feelings, ego functioning and unconscious strivings.

Koch (1952) used the 'Tree Drawing Test' as an aid to the diagnosis of vocational aptitude, educational consultations and clinical settings for cognitive and personality functioning.

The most extensive work outside Europe with the 'Tree Test' has been done in Japan by Yoshikawa and his co-workers. The test was administered to pre-school children through to university students in Osaka to study the development of personality (Huzioka and Yoshikawa, 1971; Nakao and Yoshikawa, 1974; Nakao and Yoshikawa, 1975; Nakao and

Yoshikawa, 1978; Nakao and Yoshikawa, 1979 (a) and (b); Iwaki and Yoshikawa, 1980; Nakao and Yoshikawa, 1980; Nakao, Yoshikawa and Iwaki, 1981). Yoshikawa (1976) also undertook cross-cultural studies and studied the impact of ecology and culture on the cognitive development of children (Yoshikawa and Mutharayan, 1983).

All the studies conducted using the 'Tree Test' suggest that this test has potentials for assessing cognitive and personality functions and that it can be used as a psychodiagnostic method in the field of education and mental health.

PRESENT STUDY

Aims

The present study was undertaken with the following aims:

(1) Study the profiles of mentally retarded, slow learners and deaf children on the 'Tree Test' in order to see whether any commonalities exist as compared to normal children.
(2) Investigate the differential signs unique in each of the 3 groups of children.
(3) Use the preliminary findings for formulation of hypothesis for future testing.

Sample

The sample consists of:

(1) 110 slow learners, Standards 1 to 6 in three primary schools of Kroh, a border town in Thailand;
(2) 66 deaf children, pre-school as well as from Standard 1 to 3 from the School for the Deaf, Penang; and
(3) 27 mentally retarded children from the School for Retarded Children, Penang.

This was a purposive sample. Slow learners were identified by their teachers on the basis of their performance in class as well as academic results. Similarly, the retarded children were chosen by the teacher concerned on the basis of their ability to comprehend instruction and ability to do writing work. The sample of normal children was collected from a previous study (Yoshikawa and Mutharayan, 1983) and has been used in the present study for comparison purposes.

Method and Procedure

A test was administered to children of all three groups. A drawing paper (210 x 297 mm) and a soft pencil (4B) were distributed to each child. Standard instructions were given as follows:

(a) Please draw a tree bearing fruits in 10–15 minutes with the given pencil.
(b) You may use a pencil eraser.
(c) You may use the drawing paper in any direction, lengthwise or widthwise.
(d) If you cannot draw a tree bearing fruits, please draw a tree of any type.
(e) Do not refer to a living tree or a picture.

The instructions were given in Bahasa Malaysia, Mandarin or Tamil depending upon the comprehensibility of the language by the children. It was ensured that that instructions were understood by all children. In the case of the deaf children, instructions were given in 'sign language' by their teacher concerned. For the mentally retarded, instructions had to be repeated a number of times.

The drawings were classified in terms of the BAUM FORMS and SPACE CONFIGURATION that were used in the earlier study. Appendices I and II give the details of the principles of classification. It was found, however, that such a detailed classificatory scheme was not necessary for the present case where the sample was not sufficiently large to warrant very detailed comparative studies. The most significant tree forms were C i.e. the crown type and P i.e. the palm type. A small percentage of the rest were classified simply as O i.e. other.

DISTRIBUTION AND ANALYSIS OF BAUM FORMS

Normal, Deaf, Slow Learners and the Retarded

Table 1 gives the frequency distribution of the different BAUM forms obtained among the different groups of children.

Table 1
BAUM Forms in the Different Groups

Groups	C	P	O	Total
N	70 (13.7%)	342 (67.0%)	98 (19.2%)	510
S	45 (40.9%)	52 (47.3%)	13 (11.2%)	110
D	32 (48.5%)	15 (22.7%)	19 (28.8%)	66
R	2 (7.4%)	7 (25.9%)	18 (66.7%)	27
Total	149	416	148	713

Note. N = normal; S = slow learners; D = deaf; R = retarded.

The chi-squared analysis shows a significant difference in the frequency distribution of the BAUM forms among these groups of children.

$$(X^2_{cal}\ 44.394\ \ X^2_{(0.001)} = 13.816\ \text{df}\ 2).$$

It must be noted here that the retarded group showed some peculiarities that made them uncomparable with the other children. Yoshikawa *et al.* have classified the BAUM into various developmental categories. The progression is from infantoid to juvenile and then to the adult forms (see Appendix I). Most of the drawings obtained from the retarded children were either infantoid or not even that. Except for a few who drew a somewhat coherent picture, most of the others were *partial, incomplete, incoherent* or mere scribbles. In contrast to this, the slow learners and the deaf drew recognisable BAUMS that were mostly juvenile in the developmental characteristics. In subsequent analysis, we shall disregard the data from the retarded group and focus only on the rest.

The question now arises whether the slow learners and the deaf are different from the normal children in the distribution of C, P and O. A chi-squared analysis of the frequency distribution in Table 1 between N and S shows a significant difference:

$$(X^2_{cal}\ 44.394\ \ X^2_{(0.001)} = 13.816\ \text{df}\ 2).$$

A significant difference is also obtained between D and S:

$$(X^2_{cal}\ 14.031\ \ X^2_{(0.001)} = 13.816\ \ \text{df}\ 2).$$

Hence also a significant difference between N and D. in other words, the groups N, D and S are *distinct* in the distribution of the BAUM forms when classified in terms of C, P and O. The data also suggests a predominance of C among D and S compared to N.

When the BAUM forms were collapsed into the categories C and O and the distribution among the S and D were analysed, it turns out, interestingly enough, that there is *no* significant difference between the two:

$$(X^2_{cal}\ 0.962\ \text{while}\ X^2_{(0.05)} = 3.84\ \text{df} = 1).$$

This means that in terms of the Crown BAUM forms, the S and D are indistinguishable.

It will be interesting to find out whether such a commonality is also detectable with respect to the BAUM form P and O. When the distribution of these forms were analysed, it was found that there is a significant difference between the two groups:

$$(X^2_{cal} 9.172 \quad X^2_{0.05} = 3.84 \quad df = 1).$$

The slow learners and the deaf are distinguishable as distinct groups in terms of the distribution Palm and Other but *not* in terms of Crown and Other.

When similar comparisons were made between N and S with respect to C and O, a significant difference is obtained:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 44.256 \quad X^2_{(0.001)} = 10.828 \quad df = 1).$$

A significant difference also emerges between N and D with respect to C and O:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 48.45 \quad X^2_{(0.001)} = 10.828 \quad df = 1).$$

It is clear from the above analysis that overall, the groups N, S and D are distinct in terms of the distribution of the BAUM forms C, P and O and P and O. However, with respect to the distribution of C and O, there is *no* significant difference between S and D while there is a significant difference when these groups are compared with N. *We can conclude that the Crown Form of the BAUMS drawn reflects something common between the slow learners and the deaf.* (See Appendix III for a typical Crown Form identified.)

In terms of percentages too, it is clear that while among the N, the largest is P (67%), among the D, it is rather low (only 22.7%) and slightly higher with the S (47.3%). The above significant difference in C between N and other groups is clearly seen in the percentages. The Crown form constitutes only 13.7% for N group while 40.9% and 48.5% respectively for S and D groups. There is obviously a preponderance of C forms among the S and D distinguishing them from N.

Cultural Differences in the Distribution of BAUM Forms

Having identified the C form of BAUMS as rather distinctive of the D and S groups, it will be rather interesting to investigate whether there are any cultural differences in the distribution of BAUM forms. Unfortunately, the data from the D group was insufficient for this sort of

Table 2
Frequency Distribution of BAUM Forms Among the Different Cultural Groups

Race	C	P	O	Total
Malay	24 (51.0%)	19 (40.4%)	4 (8.5%)	47
Chinese	13 (54.1%)	9 (37.5%)	2 (8.3%)	24
Indian	8 (20.5%)	24 (61.53%)	7 (17.9%)	39
Total	45	52	13	10

The chi-squared anaysis indicates that there is a significant difference among the different cultural groups in the distribution of the BAUM forms:

$$(X^2_{cal} 10.734 \quad X^2_{(0.05)} = 9.488 \quad df\,4).$$

In order to see more clearly the nature of these differences, a pair-wise comparison was made. The percentages calculated indicates a striking similarity between the Malay and Chinese children. This identity in distribution is borne out by chi-squared analysis:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 2 \times 10^{-6} \quad X^2_{(0.001)} = 5.99 \quad df\,2).$$

The Indian students show a somewhat different pattern of distribution. A chi-squared analysis between Malay and Indian children reveals a significant difference at 0.05 level:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 8.724 \quad X^2_{(0.05)} = 5.99 \quad df\,2).$$

This also means that the distribution of BAUM forms for the Indian students also differs from the Chinese. Apparently, there is something peculiar among the slow learners in the Indian group. An examination of the table also reveals that while C BAUM form is dominant among the Chinese and Malay, it is the P form that is dominant among the Indians.

Clearly our assumption that the Crown form is peculiarly associated with D and S groups of children has to be reconsidered to accommodate the possibility of there being cultural differences. This issue became more puzzling when the BAUM forms of the slow and normal Indian children were compared (Table 3). The distribution for the normal Indian group was obtained from Yoshikawa and Mutharayan (1983).

Table 3
The BAUM Distribution Between Normal and Slow Indian Children

Race	C	P	O	Total
Indian (Slow)	8 (20.5%)	24 (61.53%)	7 (17.9%)	39
Indian (Normal)	17 (12.9%)	103 (78.0%)	32 (24.2%)	132
Total	25	127	39	171

A chi-squared analysis reveals that there is *no* significant difference between these two groups of children:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 2.824 \quad X^2_{(0.05)} = 5.991 \quad df\ 2).$$

While C form is higher among S, it is not significantly higher. It became puzzling then as to why the slow learning Indian children differed from the slow hearners from the other groups and also from the reference group.

Distribution of Multiple Images

A casual re-examination of the trees drawn showed another possible difference between the S and D groups of children. It was found that some children had in fact drawn *multiple* images of trees of various sorts where in fact the instructions did not ask for these. The verbal stimulus was simply an instruction asking them to draw a tree bearing fruits. Some children apparently interpreted this to mean multiple trees. Table 4 shows the distribution of BAUM drawn with respect to the classification, multiple versus single.

Table 4
The Distribution of Multiple vs. Single Images

Group	Single	Multiple	Other	Total
Deaf	44	16	3	63
S : Malay	45	1	2	48
S : Chinese	23	1	0	24
S : Indian	34	5	0	39
Total	146	23	5	174

A chi-squared analysis of this distribution between D and S revealed a significant difference:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 14.625 \quad X^2_{(0.001)} = 13.816 \quad df\ 2).$$

The D group is characterised by a *larger* presence of drawings with multiple images compared to the S group but in both groups, the dominant drawing is that of a single tree.

The data also shows no significant difference between Malay and Chinese children. Collectively, however, they differ from the D children on this score. The Indian slow learners differ significantly from the Malay and Chinese children but *do not* with the D group:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 4.732 \quad X^2_{(0.05)} = 5.991 \quad df\ 2).$$

It appears that there are important psychological differences closely related to the cultural factors among the slow learners. The slow learners from the Malay and Chinese cultural groups are similar to the deaf in the dominance of the Crown form in the tree drawings. But they are different in the case of multiple images. The deaf children are distinctive and there is a remarkable preponderance of the multiple images among them. The slow learners among the Indian cultural group are similar to the deaf in this respect but differ from them and the other cultural groups in not having the Crown BAUM form as the dominant one.

DISTRIBUTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SPACE CONFIGURATION OF THE BAUMS

Another kind of analysis that has been used extensively by Yoshikawa is what has been termed, the *space configuration* of the BAUMS. The rectangular sheet is divided into four quadrants as shown in Figure 1. The displacement upwards from the centre C is termed O, downwards U, to the right R and to the left L. Apparently, there are interesting differences in the manner in which the BAUMS are displaced from the centre. This will be the focus of analysis in this section.

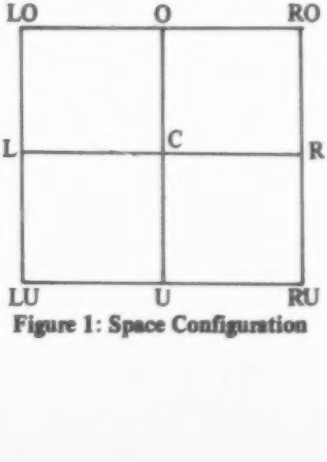


Figure 1: Space Configuration

Table 5 gives the frequency distribution of the space configurations of the BAUMS. The data for the normal group is again from Yoshikawa and Mutharayan (1983).

Table 5
Space Configuration of the BAUMS of the Different Groups

Groups	C	CL+L	CO+O	CU+U	CR	LU	LO	RU	Total
Normal	268	94	84	33	27	4	6	0	510
Deaf	0	6	5	7	4	9	6	0	44
Slow : Malay	13	14	2	2	3	9	2	0	45
Slow : Chinese	6	6	1	2	0	7	1	0	23
Slow : Indian	8	8	5	3	2	8	0	1	34
Total	302	128	97	47	36	37	15	1	656

Note. Minus drawings with multiple images.

Since important differences are to be noted in terms of L and R as well as U and O displacements, some of the above categories were collapsed as given in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6
L and R Displacement Distribution

Groups	C	(CL+LO+ LU+L)	(CU+U)	(CO+O)	(CR+RU+ RO)	Total
Normal	268 (52.8%)	104 (20.4%)	27 (5.3%)	84 (16.5%)	27 (5.3%)	510
Deaf	8 (18.0%)	20 (45.5%)	7 (15.9%)	5 (11.4%)	4 (9.0%)	44
Slow	26 (25.6%)	55 (53.9%)	7 (6.86%)	8 (7.8%)	6 (5.9%)	102

Table 7
U and O Displacement Distribution

Groups	C	(CO+LO+ RO+O)	(CL+L)	CR	(CU+LU+ RU+U)	Total
Normal	268 (52.5%)	90 (17.6%)	94 (18.4%)	27 (5.3%)	31 (6.1%)	510
Deaf	8 (18.1%)	11 (25.0%)	6 (13.6%)	4 (9.0%)	15 (34.0%)	44
Slow	26 (25.5%)	11 (10.8%)	28 (27.5%)	5 (4.9%)	32 (31.4%)	102

A chi-squared analysis reveals a great difference among these three groups in the L and R displacements:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 75.244 \quad X^2_{(0.001)} = 26.125 \quad df = 8).$$

A similar significant difference is also obtained for O and U displacement:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 97.17 \quad X^2_{(0.001)} = 26.125 \quad df = 8).$$

Table 8 was obtained by collapsing the data further into U-type and other categories of displacement.

Table 8
U-Type and Other Displacement Distribution

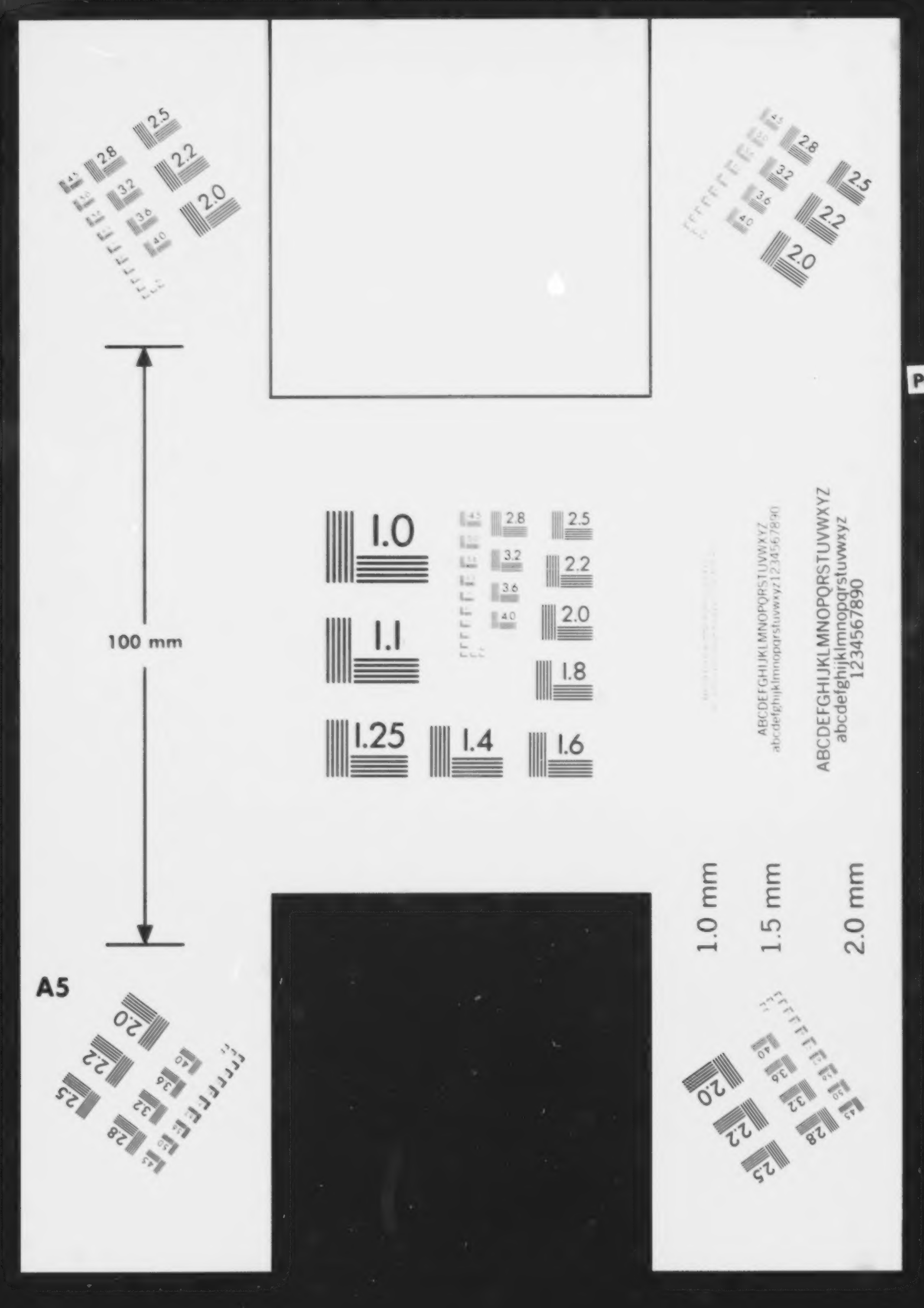
Group	U-Type	Other	Total
N	31 (6.07%)	479 (93.9%)	510
D	15 (39.6%)	29 (65.9%)	44
S	32 (31.4%)	70 (68.7%)	102

A chi-squared analysis reveals a significant difference between N and D:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 68.21 \quad X^2_{(0.001)} = 10.838 \quad df\ 1).$$

We also obtained a similar difference between N and S:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 58.90 \quad X^2_{(0.001)} = 10.838 \quad df = 1).$$


100 mm
A5
1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz1234567890
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz
1234567890
1.0 mm
1.5 mm
2.0 mm
PG

The percentages reveal a similarity between D and S and a difference with N group in the U-type and other displacement. Clearly there is a preponderance of U displacement among both the deaf and slow. Something similar is also obtained for the L-type of displacement.

When the D and S groups were compared with respect to L and R displacements as given in Table 6, there appears to be no significant difference between the two:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 4.649 \quad X^2_{(0.05)} = 9.488 \quad df\ 4).$$

Absence of difference is also noted with respect to U and O displacements as given in Table 7.

$$(X^2_{cal} = 8.29 \quad X^2_{(0.05)} = 9.488 \quad df\ 4).$$

The chi-squared values indicated that perhaps the difference is not very great and a larger sample may in fact show a significant difference. The percentages (34% U, 25% O for D; 31.4% U, 10.8% O for S) indicates a preponderance of O-type among the deaf children.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN SPACE CONFIGURATION

The data given in Table 5 also allows a comparison between Malay, Chinese and Indian children classified as slow learners. Tables 9 and 10 give the distribution after the data is collapsed to reveal L and R U and O shifts.

A chi-squared analysis for distribution with L and R shifts indicates no difference at 0.05 level amongst these groups:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 6.59 \quad X^2_{(0.05)} = 15.507 \quad df = 8).$$

A similar analysis for U and O shifts also reveals no difference at 0.05 level:

$$(X^2_{cal} = 4.782 \quad X^2_{(0.05)} = 15.507 \quad df = 8).$$

It appears then that L and R and U and O shifts are rather similar not only among the different cultural groups classified as slow but also between such children and the predominantly deaf children.

Table 9
L and R Shifts Among the Different Cultural Groups

Race	C	(CL+LO+ LU+L)	CU+U	CO+O	(CR+RU+ RO)	Total
Malay	13 (28.5%)	25 (55.5%)	2 (4.4%)	2 (4.4%)	3 (6.7%)	45
Indian	7 (20.1%)	16 (47.0%)	3 (8.8%)	5 (14.7%)	3 (8.8%)	34
Chinese	6 (26.0%)	14 (60.0%)	2 (8.7%)	1 (4.3%)	0 (0%)	23
Total	26	55	7	8	6	102

Table 10
U and O Shifts Among the Different Cultural Groups

Race	C	(CO+RO+ LO+O)	(CL+L)	CR	(CU+LU+ RU+U)	Total
Malay	13 (28.5%)	4 (8.9%)	14 (31.1%)	3 (6.7%)	11 (24.4%)	45
Indian	7 (20.1%)	5 (14.7%)	8 (23.5%)	2 (5.9%)	12 (35.3%)	34
Chinese	6 (26.0%)	2 (8.7%)	6 (26.0%)	0 (0%)	9 (39.1%)	23
Total	26	11	28	5	32	102

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

We can tabulate our findings as in Table 11.

Table 11
Main Similarities and Differences

Groups	BAUM Forms	Space Configuration
Deaf	P is dominant but not as much as for normal C form preponderant; similar to S group. Multiple images preponderant.	Different from normal in both L and R, U and O displacement. Tendency for O dominance.
Slow Learners: Malay	C preponderant; similar to D and Chinese children. Different from normal.	: Similar to D in both L and R, U and O shifts; different from normal.
Chinese:	C preponderant; similar to D and Malay. Different from normal.	: Similar to D in both L and R, U and O shifts; different from normal.
Indian:	P preponderant; different for D, Chinese and Malay. Similar to normal Indian children. Multiple image preponderant, similar to D in this respect.	: Similar to D in both L and R, U and O shifts; different from normal.

It is clear that children in the D and S groups are similar to each other and different from the normal who do not show that much of L and R, U and O shifts. In this respect, the cultural differences also do not show any variation. In BAUM forms, the deaf and the slow among the Malay and Chinese children show a definite tendency toward the C forms in contrast to the normal who largely draw the P form. The Indian slow learners resemble the normal group in this respect. A distinctive feature of the deaf is a tendency towards multiple image drawings, a tendency which is also shared by the slow learners amongst the Indian children.

Psychological Interpretations of Findings

The Tree Drawing Test itself is inspired by Jungian analytical psychology and the psychological interpretations are also founded on this system. As given in Appendix II, a shift towards the right is seen as a tendency towards extroversion while a shift towards the left, a tendency towards introversion. Unconsciousness is taken to dominate when the shift is downwards i.e. towards U while a higher spiritual consciousness is seen to dominate when the shift is upwards towards O.

The principles of agamic psychology (Mutharayan, 1983, 1984) while being consonant with analytical psychology, is simultaneously a psychology founded on a new theory of learning. In this school of psychology, three distinct strands of learning are distinguished viz. α-learning, β-learning and γ-learning. Learning is defined as a reduction in the scope of ignorance due to effectations of some actions. The α-learning is the earliest followed by β and γ forms of learning. The α-learning is primarily *instrumental*, need-based and what is acquired is knowledge about objects other than self itself. When attention shifts to the self itself, then we have the beginnings of β-learning. Initially, it is predominantly perceptual but at higher levels, it becomes transformational. The self transforms itself into a higher kind of self through processes of deconditioning. The γ-learning is essentially archetypical-image assimilatory and spiritual. When α-learning is active, the β and γ forms of learning remain unconacious. Such a state of affair is taken to be characteristic of early childhood, the type of children we have been studying. It should be possible then to give some interpretations in terms of learning processes using the principles of agamic psychology.

A shift towards the right i.e. R can be seen as tendency towards α-learning and a shift towards the left i.e. L as an *impairment* of α-learning and probably a withdrawal into the self itself. A shift towards O can be seen as the dominance of universal intelligence processes i.e. processes under the control of a universal spiritual force D. In view of this, a shift towards U can be seen as *absence* of such learning processes possibly due to some strong blocking mechanisms.

The L and U shifts are uniformly true of the deaf and the slow learning children irrespective of cultural differences. This means that their α-learning is impaired and this may be due to the dominance of some blocking mechanisms.

Now, the Palm form is typical of normal children in the tropical countries, as noted by Yoshikawa. This can be taken to be indicative of healthy interaction with the environment. The dominance of Crown form then can be seen as indicative of pre-occupation with the self itself, the directing of the learning processes towards the psyche itself.

In the case of the deaf children, the preponderance of C form as opposed to the P could be taken as a consequence resulting from the impairment of some of their senses. Some sensory channels are cut off and thus their interaction with the environment is somewhat restricted.

Such a restriction is also seen among the slow learners in the Chinese and Malay cultural groups. But, of course, the reasons have to be rather different as there are no impairments of their senses. Perhaps we can get a clue as to the differences from the preponderance of multiple images amongst the deaf and the absence of this amongst the slow learners.

The multiple images seem to correlate with a shift towards O and hence it could be interpreted as indicative of rechanneling of the psychic forces in the direction of unconscious learning processes. It is, in other words, a sign of positive compensation for what is denied elsewhere. That this aspect is absent from the slow learners amongst the Malay and Chinese children then become peculiarly important. It would appear that these children are slow and their α-learning impaired not because of blocking mechanisms derived either from the environment or the body but from within themselves – the constitution of their psyches are such that α-learning is not promoted and internal psychic constraints are such that universal intelligent processes do not find compensatory manifestations.

In the light of this knowledge then, the peculiar position of the Indian children who are slow can be seen as follows. The fact that they are similar to the deaf in multiple images would indicate that they suffer from deprivations or intellectual stimulations, a deprivation that is compensated somewhat by an unconscious dominance of the universal intelligence processes. The fact that they produce predominantly P forms just like normal children also indicates that they may not be genuine slow learners but rather children who suffer due to lack of proper intellectual stimulations. They are α-learners but whose α-learning is not nourished sufficiently to take care of all their psychic energies.

The explanation given above from the perspectives of agamic psychology does not exhaust all the possibilities as to why a person/child draws a figure with some characteristic features. The reasons could be viewed from the psycho-dynamic angle in the following ways:

(1) A person's drawing are indicative of his cognitive and emotional development. If there has been any hazards or crisis during the developmental period, it results in arrest or retardation of development. Factors affective development could be organic and/or psycho-social. Thus, a child suffering from developmental deficit such as being mentally retarded draws a tree which is of 'infantoid' form. Similarly, deaf children and slow learners who do not suffer from developmental deficit may have sensory deficits, lack of exposure to appropriate psycho-social environment and so forth. They may draw a 'tree' which is rather immature for their physical age and which indicates emotional and other disturbances as shown in L and U displacements.

(2) Other explanations come from psycho-dynamic theory and holistic theory. As such, an organism supposed to be in continuous interaction with his environment. He is trying to construe, interprete and feel the environment, and any meaningful relationship that takes place decides how he is going to act and react towards the environment.

In this regard, any limitation of the self-progress deprivation of a sensory channel in the case of the deaf, previous unpleasant experiences in the environment are most likely to affect his perception and judgment of things. Thus, the person is likely to misconstrue or misjudge the environment. In this process, his perception is guided by his inner dynamics than the characteristics of the environment. This may explain the phenomenon as to why most normal children in the tropical countries draw 'Palm Form' while the slow and deaf draw 'Crown Form'. The Crown form can be taken to be indicative of control of behaviour by inner psychic forces.

The process in which one places unconsciously his inner attributes on to a stimulus (such as to Draw a Tree) is known as 'projection'. Not making use of the characteristics of the environment when it is freely available to the Ego is akin to ego shutting itself or 'Ego Constriction'. Thus, when one is given a task of structuring (drawing a tree) a stimulus in the absence of a guideline (he is not asked to copy a tree), a person with 'integrated ego' will make use of both information from the environment and his personal image of the tree, while a person with 'constricted ego' will make use of more of his 'personal image' of the tree. This personal image of the tree is a culmination of his thinking, feelings, needs, strivings, past experiences and even the immediate physical and mental state of the individual. While the palm-form of the tree drawn may be reflective of the former, the crown-form may be reflective of the latter. In this connection, we have to also raise questions about the occurrence of multiple images predominantly among the deaf and also among some of the slow learners. Is it indicative of some inner conflict? Or is it indicative that the person is not satisfied with the images he has formed?

From the perspectives of Ego psychology, it can be said that the occurrence of multiple images is indicative of ego defence mechanisms, specifically the mechanism of 'compensation'. Thus by drawing multiple images, the ego hides the perceived limitations or defects and over-compensates for that and thus protects its own integrity.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study clearly shows the potentials of the Tree Drawing Test for gaining insights into the psychological functioning of children and the manner in which cultural and other factors affect them. It has also brought out some commonalities and differences amongst the deaf and slow learning children in the primary school. The most important aspect of this study is the revelation of the possibility of there being two kinds of slow learners viz. children whose learning is impaired or somewhat not stimulated due to an absence of sufficient intellectual stimulations and children who are slow because of some internal psychic constraints. While this pilot study has not brought out the simultaneous presence of these two distinct types of slow learners amongst all the three major cultural groups, the possibility could not be ruled out. Clearly there is a need for a large scale study of such children. For if it turns out to be true, then clearly the strategy to remediate the slow learners will be rather different and perhaps more effective.

The present study was initiated with no set hypotheses in mind. However, after the analysis of profiles of different groups of children and interpreting their psychological processes, a number of interesting hypotheses emerge. We may want to know, for example, how the features of BAUMS correlate with other established projective and non-projective tests. We may also want to know how exactly the cultural, social and organic factors interact to produce the types of psychological profiles this study has revealed. Such issues can become the basis for future studies on the Tree Test.

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SYMPOSIUM III C : Emotional and Personality Development

CHAIRPERSON	*Professor Singgih D. Gunarsa*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. Lee Voon Mun*

Personality and Moral Development **

Naeem Durrani

Guiding youth to attain their 'full humaness' is certainly one of the chief considerations of every community. To try to achieve this end is a tedious and long process. Bringing individual and social forces into harmony demands not only careful planning and taking the 'right steps at the right moment' but also deep understanding of all conflicting and mutually interacting factors influencing the individual and socio-cultural phenomena.

Personality and moral development is a vast field. It is an area which, along with other dimensions of the process of growing into a 'fully-functioning' adult in a healthy society, assumes universal concern for all those interested in making the world a better place to live in. Unfolding of the self and construction of a relatively autonomous value system may be regarded among the highest goals of personal and moral growth.

Interaction of man and his environment has always been a matter of much fascination for the 'thinking mind'. It has remained one of the subjects of top priorities for theologians, philosophers, psychologists and social scientists throughout the evolutionary history of mankind. This two-fold nature of the whole phenomenon of evolution (i.e. both man and his environment influencing each other) has remained with us as a guiding principle.

Taking this reciprocity of man and his surroundings into account, the task seems to be one of aiming greater integration of individual and environmental factors that may foster or hinder this developmental process. Study of man must see the attainment of adulthood as a continuous process, of a nature-nurture interaction. Similarly, the growth of social institutions and other developments e.g. the evolution of economic systems and technological advances should be viewed as a never-ending phenomenon of human endeavour. Only an understanding of both the individual and the social forces interacting with each other in a 'holistic' and ever-changing pattern can we obtain a complete picture of this phenomenon.

The developmental nature of the interaction referred to above makes cross-cultural studies of human and cultural evolution all the more necessary. In this paper, a brief survey of some of the developmental theories of child development (as influenced by physiological and psycho-social factors) and the growth of man's environment (his culture, etc.) is blended with a description of some measures that are being taken in Pakistan to help children to grow into healthy adults to make better adjustments in a rapidly changing world.

A Study of the Correlates of Self-Disclosure

Sarla Jawa

INTRODUCTION

The 20th century is the age of mental, social and personality disintegration. Estrangement – alienation from one's self – is at the root of neurotic personality of our time. Horney (1936) has remarked that the more the individual ignores his real feelings, wishes and wants, the more alienated he is from the real self. Jourard (1959) has emphasised that a person can know himself only through the process of making himself known to others. It is a means by which a healthy personality is achieved and maintained. He further states that activities such as psychotherapy, teaching and nursing will fail, more or less, without the appropriate disclosure by the client. It is through self-disclosure that an individual reveals to himself and to the other party just exactly who, what and where he is. Just as the thermometer and sphygmomanometers etc. disclose information about the physical state of the body, self-disclosure reveals the real nature of the soul and self. If we are to learn more about man, we must learn more about his self-disclosure, personality, conditions and dimensions, and their consequences. It is this concept which has led the investigator to conduct the present exploratory study.

OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives of the study are to:

(1) study the difference in personality factors among high, low and average self-disclosing groups,

(2) ascertain sex differences in areas of self-disclosure,

(3) investigate the order of self-disclosure areas in terms of degree;
(4) explore sex differences in self-disclosure to different target figures; and
(5) study the order of self-disclosure target figures in terms of degree of self-disclosure.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The sample for the present study consisted of 100 college girls (N = 50) and boys (N = 50). They were matched on age, economic status, marital status and nationality. The age range of both samples was between 17 and 21 years, and parental income was above Rs. 2000/- per/month. All subjects were single and of Indian nationality.

Instruments

Three instruments were used, these being:

(1) A personal data schedule was specifically designed to match both boys and girls on certain personal variables.
(2) The personality of the subjects was assessed by using Cattell's 16 PF Questionnaire.
(3) Self-disclosure was measured by Jourard's Self-Disclosure Questionnaire. In addition, the area of 'sex' from the Sinha Self-Disclosing Inventory was included.

Personality and Self-Disclosure

Results as shown in Table 1 revealed that low self-disclosing boys as well as girls were sober (low on F). It is interesting to note that low self-disclosing girls were apprehensive (high on 0) while in the case of boys, the reverse was true. High self-disclosing boys were apprehensive (high on 0).

In addition, low self-disclosing girls were found to be conservative (low on Q1) and dependent on groups (low on Q2). High self-disclosing girls turned out to be experimenting (high on Q1) and self-sufficient (high on Q2). The trend, however, indicated results to the contrary for the boys though not significant. Low self-disclosing boys tended to be experimenting (high on Q1) and self-sufficient (high on Q2) while high self-disclosing boys were conservative (low on Q1) and group-dependent (low on Q2).

Table 1

Personality and Self-Disclosure

Self-disclosure	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Chi Square	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	Males	Females
	(A) Reserved								(A) Outgoing					
Low	9	36	12	48	10	40	12	48	6	24	0	0	5.92	3.75
High	2	8	10	40	16	64	10	40	7	28	6	24		
	(B) Less Intelligent								(B) More Intelligent					
Low	8	32	3	12	8	32	16	64	9	36	5	20	5.94	4.27
High	16	64	8	32	6	24	10	40	3	12	8	32		
	(C) Emotionally Less Stable								(C) Emotionally Stable					
Low	8	32	16	64	10	40	5	20	7	28	3	12	4.43	5.26
High	14	56	9	36	9	36	12	48	2	8	5	20		
	(E) Humble								(E) Assertive					
Low	10	40	4	16	6	24	15	60	9	36	5	20	2.70	3.79
High	12	48	4	16	9	36	10	40	4	16	12	48		
	(F) Sober								(F) Happy Go Lucky					
Low	15	60	15	60	9	36	7	28	1	4	2	8	7.00	10.31
High	9	36	9	36	8	32	4	16	8	32	13	52		
	(G) Expedient								(G) Conscientious					
Low	7	28	5	20	16	64	10	40	2	8	9	36	5.68	3.62
High	5	20	12	48	11	44	8	32	9	36	6	24		
	(H) Shy								(H) Venturesome					
Low	5	20	8	32	15	60	10	40	5	20	6	24	3.34	5.29
High	11	44	2	8	11	44	13	52	3	12	11	44		

Table 1 (contd.)

	(I) Tough Minded								(I) Tender Minded					
Low	5	20	10	40	15	60	7	28	5	20	7	28	1.78	1.33
High	3	12	15	60	13	52	5	20	9	36	6	24		
	(L) Trusting								(M) Suspicious					
Low	5	20	6	24	9	36	7	28	11	44	11	44	3.32	4.63
High	1	4	1	4	13	52	10	40	11	44	15	60		
	(M) Practical								(M) Imaginative					
Low	8	32	5	20	12	48	10	40	5	20	9	36	1.54	2.63
High	9	36	11	44	8	32	8	32	8	32	7	28		
	(N) Forthright								(N) Shrewd					
Low	9	36	10	40	8	32	8	32	8	32	6	24	0.38	1.20
High	10	40	10	40	9	36	6	24	6	24	10	40		
	(O) Confident								(O) Apprehensive					
Low	6	24	1	4	12	48	7	28	7	28	16	64	6.06	7.98
High	1	4	7	28	10	40	11	44	14	56	8	32		
	(Q1) Conservative								(Q1) Experimenting					
Low	6	24	9	36	9	36	11	44	10	40	4	16	2.52	9.6
High	11	44	2	8	8	32	11	44	6	24	13	52		
	(Q2) Group-Dependent								(Q2) Self-Sufficient					
Low	8	32	10	40	4	16	11	44	13	52	3	12	5.78	9.09
High	11	44	2	8	9	32	11	44	5	20	13	52		
	(Q3) Undisciplined								(Q3) Controlled					
Low	9	36	13	52	11	44	8	32	5	20	3	12	1.28	1.5
High	13	52	11	44	8	32	9	36	4	16	6	24		
	(Q4) Relaxed								(Q4) Tense					
Low	9	36	4	16	9	36	8	32	7	28	12	48	0.88	3.30
High	6	28	10	40	10	40	8	32	9	36	8	32		

Table 2
Areas of Self-Disclosure

Areas	Boys (N = 50)		Girls (N = 50)		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Attitudes and Opinions	41.50	11.60	47.50	10.20	2.76*
Tastes and Interests	45.90	13.40	52.50	10.00	2.79**
Work and Attitudes	36.70	12.30	46.70	10.90	4.31**
Money	33.90	12.30	37.10	12.12	1.31*
Personality	32.70	14.50	38.10	10.00	2.16*
Body	33.10	11.20	34.70	11.40	.52
Sex	23.10	12.50	40.30	11.60	7.13**

* Significant at .05 level.

** Significant at .01 level.

Area of Self-Disclosure and Sex Differences

Results on Table 2 revealed that boys and girls differed significantly in degree of self-disclosure with respect to attitudes and opinions, tastes and interests, work and attitudes, personality and sex. There was no significant sex differences in self disclosure with respect to money and body. The findings, in general, indicated that girls disclosed more than boys.

Order of Self-Disclosure Areas in Terms of Degree

From examination of self-disclosure areas, it appears that they can be divided broadly into two categories – public areas and private areas.

Tastes and interests, attitudes and opinions, and work and attitudes can be labelled as public areas and money, body, personality and sex areas of self-disclosure can be categorised as private areas.

From results of Dunccons's test for the boys (Table 3) and the girls (Table 4), it appears that boys and girls were similar in order in terms of degree of self-disclosure for the *public area*. In the case of the boys, there was no significant difference in disclosure of tastes and interests, and attitudes and opinions. In the case of the girls, the differences in these areas were significant but insignificant between attitudes and opinions, and work and attitudes. In the case of both boys and girls, disclosure with respect to tastes and interests was highest, followed by attitudes and opinions, and work and attitudes.

Table 3
Areas of Self-Disclosure Among Boys

Areas	Attitudes and Opin- Opinions	Work and Attitudes	Money	Body	Personality	Sex
Tastes and Interests	4.90	9.20*	12.00*	12.80*	13.20*	22.80*
Attitude and Opinion		4.80	7.60*	8.40*	8.80*	18.40*
Work and Attitudes			2.80	3.60	4.00	13.60*
Money				.80	1.20	10.80*
Body					.40	10.00*
Personality						9.60*

* Significant at .05 level.

Table 4
Areas of Self-Disclosure Among Girls

Areas	Attitudes and Opinions	Work and Attitudes	Sex	Personality	Money	Body
Tastes and Interests	5.00*	5.80*	12.20*	14.40*	15.40*	17.80*
Attitudes and Opinions		.80	7.20*	9.40*	10.40*	12.80*
Work and Attitudes			6.40*	8.60*	9.60*	12.00*
Sex				2.20	3.20	5.60*
Personality					1.00	3.40
Money						2.40

* Significant at .05 level.

Boys and girls differed in rank in terms of degree of self-disclosure with respect to *private areas*. In the case of the boys, maximum disclosure was for money followed by body, personality and sex. There was no significant difference in degree of self-disclosure among areas such as money, body and personality but disclosure in all these areas was significantly greater than in sex.

In the case of the girls, maximum disclosure was for sex followed by personality money and body.

It is interesting to note that, among the private areas, maximum disclosure was for the area of body and minimum for sex in the case of the boys. With the girls' sample, the reverse was true.

Table 5
Target Figures of and Sex Differences in Self-Disclosure

Target Figures	Boys (N = 50)		Girls (N = 50)		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Mother	62.90	17.40	81.72	20.40	4.96*
Father	56.10	21.30	58.70	20.00	0.64
Same Sex Friend	73.90	20.43	84.80	19.01	2.63**
Opposite Sex Friend	57.30	27.42	50.90	27.47	1.16

* Significant at .05 level.
** Significant at .01 level.

Target Figures of and Sex Differences in Self Disclosure

Results in Table 5 revealed that there was significant sex differences in self-disclosure to mother and friends of the same sex. However, the sex differences in self-disclosure to father and friends of the opposite sex was insignificant.

Results in Table 6 and 7 indicated that maximum disclosure of both the boys' and girls' samples were to a friend of the same sex followed by mother, a friend of the opposite sex and father. There was no significant difference in degree of self-disclosure to father and a friend of the opposite sex in the case of the boys' sample. In the case of the girls' sample, disclosure to the father was more than to a friend of the opposite sex. However, there was no significant difference in self-disclosure to a friend of the same sex and to mother.

Table 6
Mean Differences in Different Target Figures
in the Boys' Sample

Target Figures	$\bar{X}$ Mother	$\bar{X}$ Female Friend	$\bar{X}$ Father
$\bar{X}$ Male Friend	11.0*	16.60*	17.80*
$\bar{X}$ Mother		5.60*	6.80*
$\bar{X}$ Female Friend			1.20*

* Significant at .05 level.

Table 7
Mean Difference in Different Target Figures
in the Girls' Sample

Target Figures	$\bar{X}$ Mother	$\bar{X}$ Father	$\bar{X}$ Male Friend
$\bar{X}$ Female Friend	2.58	25.60*	33.40*
$\bar{X}$ Mother		23.02*	30.82*
$\bar{X}$ Father			7.80*

* Significant at .05 level.

DISCUSSION

Personality and Self Disclosure

The results of the study indicated that low self-disclosing boys as well as low self-disclosing girls were significantly more sober (F) than high-disclosing males and females. People who disclose less are reserved and have the introverted qualities. Introverts are likely to be more contemplative, deliberative and self-effacing but less gregarious. They react very selectively to a stimulus and thus manifest sobriety in their behaviour.

Boys and girls differ on factor F i.e. high self-disclosing males were found to be apprehensive but in the case of girls, it was the low self-disclosing group which was found to be so. This finding could be attributed to social conditioning. A male is supposed to solve effectively his own conflicts and it is only when these cannot be resolved that they are spoken of. Thus, there is apprehension firstly, regarding the conflicts and secondly, regarding the fact that he is deviating from the attributed sex-role behaviour. On the other hand, the sex-role behaviour assigned to females is one of dependence and they tend to ask for assistance when needed. If a female fails to disclose her problems, it may be due to the fact that she is anxious about their nature or that there is no target person in the environment to whom she feels close enough to disclose them. This is indicative of a lack of trust in people. These findings are in line with those of Kumar and Didwania (1976). Both these factors are conducive to producing apprehension in low self-disclosing females.

In addition, low self-disclosing girls were also found to be conservative (low in factor Q1) and group-dependent (low in factor Q2). Though no significant difference was found in the case of boys with respect to conservatism and group-dependency, the trend, however, illustrated that it is the high self-disclosing boys who tend to be conservative and group-dependent. A male showing high self-disclosure lacks self-confidence and is apprehensive about his mode of behaviour. This, in turn, leads him to disclose more and to seek assistance from others, indicating that he is lacking in individual resolutions and self-sufficiency and dependent on others. Secondly, when a male is not self-sufficient, he prefers to cling on to the 'tried and tested' despite inconsistencies even if something better turns up.

In the case of girls, however, contrary results are obtained i.e. it was the low-self disclosing girls who were conservative and group-dependent. This may again be explained in terms of social conditioning. Low self-disclosure in the case of females is due to the lack of self-confidence and individual resolutions – causes which are responsible for high self-disclosure in males. This lack of self-assurance in the case of females is likely to lead towards conservatism as she is not experimenting and venturesome enough to bring forth new ideas. A low self-disclosing female depends on others and follows conventions as the best way to resolve her conflicts. A high self-disclosing female is likely to achieve greater self-actualisation, as pointed out by Lombardo and Faulasia (1976) since willingness to self-disclose is attributed to personal health and satisfaction, success in being understood and working competently with others (Barnett and Sharp, 1973).

Area of Self Disclosure and Sex Differences in Self-Disclosure

The findings revealed that private areas (money, personality, body and sex) are disclosed less than public areas (attitudes and opinions, tastes and interests, and work and opinions) by both boys and girls. This may be attributed to the fact that disclosure in certain areas in one's life is socially more acceptable than other areas. Social norms of the society present the open expression of some aspects of the self while other aspects are expected to be suppressed or at least not talked about openly. Although there was no sex differences in the order of self-disclosure for public areas, there was significant sex differences for private areas. Surprisingly, females disclosed more than boys about sex than body. The reason may be attributed to the age of the girls of the present sample i.e. 18 to 21 years. It has been observed that as girls progress toward young adulthood, they become increasingly interested in the topic of sex because of the various intricacies involved at their age and with it, arrives a consciousness of one's own body, its flaws and drawbacks as weighed against its best aspects. The feeling that the body may in some way be less than perfect can lead to low self-disclosure.

The female more than the male sample of the present study was seen to be reasonably high on self-disclosure in all areas investigated. This can be attributed to the sex roles assigned by the society, i.e. a male is seen as better adjusted when he does not disclose information about a personal problem while he is considered maladjusted when he does. On the contrary, females are considered more emotionally healthy when they disclose information about the self than when they do not do so. The fact that these are the expectations of others tend to guide an individual along these modes of behaviour.

In this rather male chauvinistic society where males are considered pillars of strength and the females fragile little lillies, it is also expected that the male of the species should go though his problems and crisis situations without showing overt anxiety. When a man reveals his fears and discloses them to others, he is considered unstable and lacking in ego strength and adjustment.

Target Figures of Self-Disclosure and Sex Differences in Self-Disclosure

With regard to the target figures of self-disclosures, the study revealed that the highest disclosure in the case of boys as well as girls was to a friend of the same sex followed by the mother. In the case of girls, the least self-disclosure target was a friend of the opposite sex and in the case of boys, the father. These results support the findings of Ribenbark (1977) who illustrated that maximum disclosure is always with the same sex peers, mothers are favoured over fathers as target figures and least disclosure is with the opposite sex peers. Maximum disclosure to a friend of the same sex could be due to peer group understanding and sharing of common problem and qualities. The reason for disclosures to the mother could be due to the protective shield provided by her.

In India, where the father often leaves for work early in the morning and returns home late, and most of the mothers are not working, the children have maximum communication with the mother and the rapport gets strengthened through the years, leading to greater disclosure to the mother than to the father. Mothers are seen to be taking a more active interest in the child while the fathers may be preoccupied with the office and business. The mothers are likely to be more sentimentally and emotionally involved with the children and they may even make the child almost an anchor of their living, resulting in increased rapport and freedom of thought expression in the child. When a mother is a housewife, she can devote more time to the child and has greater understanding of his problems. A women's little world centres around the family and because of the ingrained qualities of patience, she demonstrates greater understanding of the child. In most cases, the paternal ties are not as strong as the maternal ties. This is apparent even in the behaviour of animals and birds where the female partner not only brings the off-springs into the world but also caters to the everyday needs of her little ones.

Boys were found to be disclosing more to a friend of the opposite sex as compared to girls. Our society dictates Indian females to be coy in front of the male and thus open uninhibited interpersonal exchange is frowned upon.

To conclude, it can be stated that disclosure to any target figures is largely dependent upon the facilitative conditions offered, as postulated also by Trax, Altaman and Whitmer (1973). In addition, the areas of self-disclosure are dependent upon societal expectations.

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Because of Virginity: Restoration Operations **

Premala S. Kale

This study investigated into the attitudes of a sample of students towards sex matters. The subjects consisted of a randomly selected sample of 50 boys and 110 girls from graduate classes in Arts, Science and Commerce of three different educational institutes in Bombay, India.

The subjects were asked to answer a questionnaire after reading a news-item which related to sex matters. The subjects then answered the items in the questionnaire expressing their attitudes toward the news item.

Analysis of the responses from the questionnaire indicated that Indian attitudes toward sex matters were still rather more sentimental, romantic and traditional than being objective and realistic. When compared to researchs done in US, there was a striking difference between the Indian and American outlook towards normal sex behaviours.

Symposium IV

SYMPOSIUM IV A : The Psychology of Adolescents

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Chamnong Vibulsri*
RAPPORTEUR	*Ms Marohaini Yusof*

A Profile of Rural Adolescents in Malaysia

Chiam Heng Keng

The psychology of adolescents appears to fascinate many Malaysians. This is evident by the number of articles written on this subject in the newspapers and in home or woman magazines. The public interests in adolescents can be attributed to several factors which include the increase in drug addiction, the extent and intensity of disciplinary problems in schools and the large portion of the population having children within this age range.

On the academic front, many educators are becoming increasingly aware that educational psychology textbooks are basically describing the behaviour of people of developed countries and we are assuming that the psychology of human beings is similar. The danger of such an assumption is that we are using the norms of developed countries to interprete and evaluate the behaviours of Malaysian adolescents. Recognising the dangers of such a practice and the lack of local data, an attempt to learn about our adolescents was carried out in 1976. Since then, a series of research on adolescents has been carried out, either individually or in teams. The findings of some of these research have been reported (Chiam, 1978; Chiam and Ng, 1978; Chiam, 1979; Chiam, 1982; Chiam, 1983a; Chiam, 1983b; Chiam and Fatimah Haron, 1983; Lim and Menon, 1983; Nik Azis and Mutter,1983 and Chiam, 1984). All these papers with the exception of one (Chiam, 1984) are about urban adolescents.

This paper is based on the study carried out in 1983 in three rural areas in Johor. The areas included a government land scheme (Felda), a smallholder estate and a fishing village. In each of these areas, there is only one secondary school which provides education for both boys and girls from Form I to Form V. Generally, the schools have very few bright students since academically-able students are transferred to residential schools in the urban areas. The school in the Felda scheme, in particular, is depleted of academically bright students.

Table 1
Distribution of the Sample According to Grade Level

Grade Level	%
Form I	15.9
Form II	20.6
Form III	21.2
Form IV	20.0
Form V	22.3

The sample consisted of 1,075 Form I to Form V students; 550 were girls, 521 were boys and 4 of the students did not specify their gender. For each grade level (Table 1), the above average, average and below average classes were chosen so that a range of ability was sampled. In reality, the difference in ability between the above average and average class was very small since the bright students were removed to residential schools after completing their primary school education. At Form I level, only the above average classes were chosen because our earlier studies revealed that many below average students in Form I could not comprehend the checklist of problem (Chiam, 1979). As a result, the percentage of above-average ability students was higher and the percentage of below-average students was lower than what it should be (Table 2).

Table 2
Distribution of the Sample According to Academic Achievement

Problem	Boys N=521	Girls N=550	Total N=1075
Above average	44.5	49.8	47.3
Average	34.2	33.5	33.9
Below average	21.3	16.7	18.9

Most of the adolescents were from the lower income group as shown in Table 3. The majority of the parents had only primary school education and almost 25% of the mothers did not go to school (Table 4). The parents who had university or college education were the teachers of the schools or administrators in the areas. Those who completed Form V or Form VI were usually clerks, supervisors or nurses. A number of subjects did not indicate their parents' educational level. This was because the respondents were instructed to check the 'do not know' column if they were unsure of the highest level of education completed by their parents.

Table 3
Distribution of the Sample According to Socioeconomic Status (SES)*

SES	%
High	0.6
Middle	3.0
Low	89.3
Retired or Unemployed	6.6
Dead	0.5

Note. *In the case of single parent family, the occupation of the mother was computed if she was working. If the father was unemployed but the mother was working, then the mother's occupation was computed.

Table 4
Highest Level of Education Completed by Parents of the Sample

Level of Education	Father	Mother
No schooling	7.7	24.5
Religious education	7.7	15.1
Primary	68.8	51.3
Form 3	4.1	1.7
Form 5	1.0	0.2
Form 6	0.2	0
College	0.6	0
University	0.1	0.1
No response	9.8	7.1

METHODOLOGY

A checklist consisting of 195 problems, based on the Mooney Problem Checklist format, was administered to each class by the researchers with the help of two assistants. The subjects were required to underline the problems which troubled them, afterwhich they had to circle those which troubled them greatly.

Physical and Health Conditions

Not many adolescents in rural areas appeared to have much of a problem with their height or weight. However, 24.3% of the boys complained of being too thin. As expected, more girls than boys felt they were too fat but only 13.8% checked this as their problem. More girls than boys felt they were too short. Though the difference is small, nonetheless, the finding is surprising as, traditionally, to be small and petite is being feminine. Have the girls' perception of beauty changed? Are they being influenced by Western standards? To what extent has this change in standards of beauty been changed? Further research is necessary to answer these questions.

Table 5
Problems Related to Physical and Health Conditions of the Adolescents

Problems	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
Too thin	24.3	14.2	19.1
Too fat	3.9	13.8	9.0
Too short	18.6	20.2	19.3
Too tall	3.7	3.6	3.6
Not attractive enough	14.5	17.0	15.9
Poor complexion	27.5	26.7	27.2
Wanting to improve my appearance	18.4	24.9	21.7
Easily tired	29.0	35.4	32.4
Not as healthy as I desired to be	14.4	16.7	15.6
Smoking	5.9	0.5	3.1
Getting sick too often	8.1	7.6	7.9
Not getting enough sleep	16.2	10.7	13.3

More than a quarter of the boys and girls in the sample were troubled by poor complexion. This finding is not unexpected as pimples and acnes are the bane of adolescents' lives. Though more than 27% of the adolescents checked 'poor complexion' as their problem, only 15.9% felt they were physically unattractive. However, more than 21% were dissatisfied with their appearance and wanted to improve upon it. As expected, more girls than boys checked physical unattractiveness as their problem and the desire to improve upon it.

Although few of them felt they were unhealthy or were not getting enough of sleep, yet many of them (32.4%), particularly the girls (35.4%), complained of getting tired easily. Visually, they appeared healthy. What is the explanation? Is their lack of physical fitness due to the lack of proper diet? Is this feeling of tiredness psychological? To answer these questions, further research is necessary.

Personality

The problem checked by the adolescents can reflect their personality and psychological make-up. The problems shown in Table 6 provide an insight into the feelings and personality of the adolescents in the sample.

Table 6
Problems Related to Personality of the Adolescents

Problems	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
Timid and shy	23.5	25.8	24.5
Sensitive	11.9	31.3	21.7
Easily hurt	18.7	34.6	26.4
Easily embarrassed	39.4	45.5	42.6
Argumentative	14.2	13.6	15.0
Often acting without thinking	20.9	18.9	20.0
Feeling moody	7.3	16.4	11.9
Day-dreaming	35.3	26.0	30.5
Feeling nervous	26.5	29.9	28.1
Afraid to make mistakes	36.1	36.9	36.6
Having trouble to make up my mind about smething	31.3	40.5	35.9
Failing in many things I have tried to do	20.5	20.9	20.8
Lacking self-confidence	38.1	43.1	40.8
Feeling inferior	25.8	31.5	28.6

The data shows that many of the adolescent boys and girls were timid and shy, nervous, feeling inferior, lacking in self-confidence and easily embarrassed. They had difficulties in making up their minds and were afraid to make mistakes. Among these problems, 'easily embarrassed', 'lacking in self-confidence', 'afraid to make mistakes' and 'difficulties in making up one's mind' were the most common. These were also the common problem of urban adolescents (Chiam and Nik Azis, 1983). Fear of making mistakes and difficulties in making up one's mind are probably related to a lack of self-confidence. Adolescents who lack self-confidence are likely to fear making mistakes and consequently, have difficulties in making decisions. These problems are intensified if the adolescent also possesses feelings of having failed in many of the things that they have tried to do. Our data show that 20.5% of the boys and 20.9% of the girls were troubled by this feeling of failure.

Girls, on the whole, tended to feel inferior and lacked self-confidence: 43.1% of the girls and 38.1% of the boys checked lack of self-confidence; 40.5% of the girls and 31.3% of the boys had difficulties in making up their minds; 45.5% of the girls and 39.4% of the boys were easily embarrassed; 31.5% of the girls and 25.8% of the boys felt inferior. The data suggest that more girls than boys had negative feelings towards themselves. Similar findings were obtained with the urban sample (Chiam and Nik Azis, 1983). Why should the girls feel inferior? The background data show that there are more girls in the above average class and less girls in the below average class (Table 2). There were no sex differences in the feelings that they had failed in many of the things that they had attempted to do. Could the inferiority complex of the girls be brought about by the lower status accorded to them? An earlier study found that the self-concept of adolescent girls was significantly lower than that of adolescent boys although there was no significant differences in their academic achievement and IQ (Chiam, 1976). This was attributed to the lower status accorded to girls.

Table 6 also shows that adolescent girls were more emotional than their male counterparts. Of the sample of girls, 31.3% checked being sensitive and 34.6% indicated being easily hurt while the percentage of boys who checked these two problems was only 11.9 and 18.7 respectively. Argumentativeness and moodiness were not common problems among the adolescents. However, a greater number of them admitted to being impulsive. More boys than girls tended to have this trait. 'Day dreaming' was also checked by more boys than girls: 35.3% of the boys and 26.0% of the girls had this problem.

MENTAL HEALTH

The mental health of an individual affects his effective functioning. Case-studies of students with disciplinary problems revealed that the majority of the girls felt unwanted and unloved by their parents (Chiam, 1983). Besides feelings of rejection, emotions such as worry, isolation, guilt and unhappiness can plague a person and prevent her from functioning properly. Table 7 shows some of the feelings which can affect the mental health of the adolescents.

An examination of Table 7 reveals that girls tended to have more emotional problems than their male counterparts. Among girls, 'worrying' topped the list with 41.9% and this was followed by 'feelings that nobody understands me' (37.3%), 'cannot forget the mistakes I have made' (36.2%), 'no one to whom I can talk to about my problems' (30.3%) and 'sometimes, feeling that it is better I have never been born' (25.8%). Although only 12.8% of the girls checked 'having feelings of extreme loneliness', this problem must not be pushed aside on the ground that it is not widespread because of its seriousness. An adolescent who has this problem probably feels that nobody understands her and that she has no one to whom she can talk to about her problems. The mental health of such an adolescent is highly questionable. Similarly, though problems such as 'having memories of unhappy childhood', 'being troubled by nightmares', 'thoughts of committing suicide' or 'thoughts of insanity' are not widespread, they are serious problems. Therefore, adolescents with these feelings must be given due consideration especially if the youngsters had indicated that these problems troubled them greatly. Professional help may be necessary as these problems are often the manifestations of more deep-rooted emotional problems.

The boys appeared to have less emotional problems. Given preference for boys and the higher status accorded to them, they are often better loved and cared for, especially when they are young. The love and attention they get will probably make them feel more secure. They are also less likely to be subjected to ill-treatment or made to feel unwanted or superfluous even though there are other boys in the family when they were born.

Table 7
Problems Related to Mental Health of Adolescents

Problems	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
Worrying	31.9	41.9	36.8
Having feelings of extreme loneliness	9.0	12.8	10.9
Afraid to be left alone	12.6	21.6	17.6
Having guilt conscience	18.4	20.7	19.0
Cannot forget the mistakes I have made	28.4	36.2	32.4
Having memories of unhappy childhood	12.1	14.0	13.3
Troubled by nightmares	8.6	12.5	10.8
Too many personal problems	15.7	13.8	14.8
Feeling that nobody understands me	18.5	37.3	28.0
No one to whom I can talk about my problems	15.8	30.3	23.3
Having difficulty to discuss my problems	15.7	24.9	20.4
Sometimes, feeling that it is better I have never been born	18.2	25.8	22.0
Thoughts of committing suicide	2.7	2.9	2.8
Sometimes troubled by thoughts of insanity	8.7	8.0	8.3

SOCIAL RELATIONS

Few adolescents felt they were hard to be friendly with or had difficulty in mixing well with others. It appears that having the traits of friendliness does not guarantee that an adolescent can mix well with others as shown by the data in Table 8. Though only 5.6% of the girls declared themselves to be hard to be friendly with, yet 20.4% of them were not mixing well with others.

About a quarter of the boys and girls felt awkward in meeting people, had nothing interesting to say to them and wanted a more pleasing personality. It appears that these problems cannot be attributed to a lack of opportunities in social activities or having too little time for entertainment and recreation as few of the adolescents encountered these two problems (Table 8).

Table 8
Problems Related to Social Development

Problems	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
Hard to be friendly with	12.9	5.6	15.0
Not mixing well with others	17.4	20.4	18.9
Awkward in meeting people	24.0	29.1	26.0
Having nothing interesting to say to others	24.7	27.1	25.9
Wanting a more pleasing personality	21.3	24.1	22.7
Having no opportunities to participate in social activities	12.7	13.4	13.3
Too little time for entertainment and recreation	17.9	16.9	17.2
Lacking skills in sports and games	26.6	31.6	29.1
Not using my leisure time well	33.8	35.9	34.7
Nothing interesting to do during the holidays	27.1	34.0	30.6
Not allowed to go out with friends	9.4	17.6	13.7
Not allowed to go out at night	19.4	19.0	19.3

Low self-concept may be one of the factors responsible for feelings of awkwardness in the presence of others and of having nothing interesting to say. Such an explanation seems plausible since the girls have lower self-concept than the boys and also more girls than boys checked these two problems. Another explanation is that the close surveillance of girls causes them to be self-conscious in the presence of others who make them feel awkward and tongue-tied. The third explanation is due to the emphasis placed on academic subjects and examinations which tend to confine children's knowledge to school text. They are given little encouragement to read beyond their textbooks as little importance is given to general knowledge and current affairs. As teaching is mainly expository, students are provided with little opportunities to discover the richness in their environment and to develop their interests. Not only is their knowledge restricted by such educational practices but also time will hang heavily on their hands during the holidays because there are no lessons to be learnt and no examinations to be prepared. The problem of having nothing interesting to do during the holidays was expressed by 27.1% of the male adolescents and 34.0% of the female adolescents. About 33.8% of the male and 35.9% of the female adolescents felt that they were not using their leisure time well. Furthermore, 26.6% of the boys and 31.6% of the girls expressed concern over their lack of ability in sports and games. This shortcoming is probably created by the fact that physical education is of secondary importance, especially for girls in co-educational schools.

Not being allowed to go out with friends and also at night were checked by only a few adolescents, probably for different reasons. Few rural adolescents checked not being allowed to go out with friends because they were permitted to do so while going out at night was never an issue in rural areas since there was nothing to attract adolescents to go out at night. Rural parents restrict their children less in going out with friends because many of them know their children's friends as well. They are probably the children of their own friends and have probably grown up together. On the other hand, not being allowed to go out with their friends were checked by many urban adolescents (Chiam, 1984). Parents in urban areas hardly know each other and they probably have little time or opportunities to get to know their children's friends as well. Consequently, they are inclined to be strict over the issue of their children going out with friends, especially in the night.

RELATIONS WITH THE OPPOSITE SEX

Only a few adolescents were troubled by not being allowed to go out with the opposite sex. The tussle between parents and adolescents over this issue was encountered by a few families only because dating has not yet become a fad among Malaysian adolescents, especially the rural adolescents. In fact, they appeared to fight shy of each other as it was observed that they sat apart in class. There was no mixing during the break and they refused to work with the opposite sex at laboratory work. They tended to express enmity towards the opposite sex. This behaviour was more frequently manifested by the girls. This could be a defensive mechanism against the fear of being attracted to the opposite sex. Only a very small proportion of the adolescents checked 'being in love', 'being disappointed in love' and 'having girl/boyfriend problem'.

Table 9
Problems Related to Relations With the Opposite Sex

Problems	Boys N=521 %	Girls N=550 %	Total N=1075 %
Not allowed to go out with the opposite sex	9.2	17.3	13.4
Disappointed in love	8.1	3.6	5.8
In love	3.8	2.5	3.6
Having boy/girlfriend trouble	13.2	15.4	14.4
Afraid to be friendly with the opposite sex	23.5	20.9	22.1
Embarrassed by talk about sex	22.9	26.9	25.2

About 23.5% of the boys and 20.9% of the girls reported that they were afraid to be friendly with the opposite sex. A total of 22.9% of the boys and 26.9% of the girls admitted to being embarrassed by talk about sex. In view of their weariness of each other, the society's disapproval of an intimacy between them and the taboo placed on discussion of sex, a higher percentage of them were expected to express that they were afraid to be friendly with the opposite sex and embarrased by talk about sex. Inspite of being defensive in their behaviour towards the opposite sex, they may be well-adjusted towards the opposite sex. Co-education may have helped to reduce the mystique of the opposite sex and thus enable them to have a more healthy attitude towards sex. An earlier study revealed that girls and boys in co-educational schools are better adjusted in many aspects of their development than their peers in single-sex schools (Chiam, 1982).

RELATIONS WITH PARENTS

About 2.2% of the sample had parents who were either separated or divorced, 1.1% reported that their mothers were not always at home, 4.0% indicated that their fathers were always not around and 7.8% reported that their families often quarrelled. The data suggest that the adolescents received basic parental care. In fact, the other data not only support this conclusion but indicate further that the parent-adolescent relationship was close for the majority of them (Table 10). Despite being poor, only a handful wanted a different background or were ashamed of their homes. Only 7.8% felt that their parents did not trust them, 6.3% considered their parents to be old-fashioned in their ideas and 3.1% doubted the wisdom of their parents. Generally, the adolescents appeared to respect their parents and trust their judgment. This respect and trust are also reflected in the other findings of this study.

Only 7.8% of the adolescents reported that there was a clash in opinions between them and their parents. This should not be taken to imply that harmony existed between them or that they saw eye-to-eye as 18.2% reported that their parents opposed their plans, 18.4% resented being criticised by their parents and 21.8% claimed that their parents did not understand them. These findings tend to suggest that the lack of conflict between the adolescents and their parents could be due to the fact that the children give in to their parents, probably out of respect for them and their wisdom. This submissive attitude of the adolescents probably explained why only 7.6% were troubled by 'parents making too many decisions for me'.

However, the respect they had for their parents did not deter the young from giving answers which rebuked their parents. About 22.1% of the boys and 23.6% of the girls admitted that they answered their parents in this fashion.

The number of girls who wanted love from their parents was almost twice the number of boys: 23.6% of the girls checked this problem as com-

Table 10
Problems Related to Family Relations

Problems	Boys N=521 %	Girls N=550 %	Total N=1075 %
Parents separated or divorced	2.5	1.8	2.2
Father always not at home	3.8	4.0	4.0
Mother always not at home	1.5	0.7	1.1
Family often quarrel	5.8	9.5	7.8
Family relationships not close	4.6	8.4	6.5
Wanting a different family background	3.5	4.3	4.0
Ashamed of my home	8.5	8.4	8.3
Parents not trusting me	7.6	7.9	7.8
Parents are old-fashioned in their ideas	4.6	8.0	6.3
Doubting the wisdom of my parents	2.5	3.7	3.1
Clash of opinions between me and my parents	6.4	9.1	7.8
Parents opposing some of my plans	18.4	18.0	18.2
Often being criticised by parents	16.5	20.4	18.4
Parents making too many decisions for me	7.4	7.9	7.6
Talking back to my parents	22.1	23.6	22.8
Parents do not understand me	17.5	26.2	21.8
Wanting love from parents	14.6	23.6	18.2
Parents expecting too much of me	38.2	35.4	36.8
Parents sacrificing too much for me	29.4	26.5	28.0
Parents working too hard	21.5	18.4	19.9
Sometimes, I feel like running away from home	13.5	14.9	14.2

pared to 14.6% of the boys. This difference is not unexpected in view of the preference of parents for boys. Furthermore, this difference is more marked in the rural than in the urban sample (Chiam, 1984) showing that the preference for boys is stronger in the rural than urban areas.

The cry that ‘parents are expecting too much of me’ was echoed by 38.2% of the boys and 35.4% of the girls. High parental expectations can exert great pressure on the child, especially if he is made to feel that his parents are working very hard and are making many sacrifices for him. Although this pressure can act as a great motivating force, it can also create mental agony, especially if the expectations are unrealistic and the child is incapable of attaining them. Not only is he imbued with guilt feelings of having failed his parents but he will also suffer from feelings of inadequacy. High parental expectations could be one of the reasons why 14.2% of th adolescents felt like running away from home, even though there appeared to be no problems in the home.

It is highly desirable that parents feel responsible for their offsprings and are prepared to work hard and make sacrifices to enable them to have a good education which is perceived as the vehicle for social mobility. No matter how noble this gesture may be, parents must be careful not to sacrifice the mental health of the child for materialistic gains. Many parents may, consciously or unconsciously, use their children's feelings to achieve their own ambitions or goals. Our data show that 28.0% of the adolescents felt their parents were making too many sacrifices for them and 19.9% had parents who were working too hard.

SCHOOL AND STUDIES

The adolescents seemed to have a number of problems related to their studies. They were worried about their marks, and fearful of failing their examinations. Getting low marks, having trouble with mathematics, and inability to express themselves well were some of the problems experienced by the adolescents. Out of a list of six problems, four of them were related to examinations. Although 62.2% of the adolescents were afraid of failing in their school work, only 28.4% felt they were not smart enough. Can this fear be attributed to the emphasis placed on academic excellence? Does the transfer of students who are good in their work to residential schools leave the remaining ones with little confidence in their abilities to pass examinations? Further research is necessary to answer these questions.

Most of these adolescents realised that they possessed inefficient and ineffective study habits as 60.9% of them checked this problem. With poor study habits, students need to spend a great deal of time at their studies and yet may not do well in the examinations. Research findings showed that urban adolescents felt that they were not spending enough time at their studies when, in fact, they spent most of their after-school hours in activities related to schoolwork such as tuition, completing homework and preparing their lessons (Chiam, 1983a). It is likely that many of the rural adolescents are doing likewise, except that a number of them may not have the benefit of tuition.

Some may argue that rural children have to help their parents after school, leaving them with little time for their studies. However, our data show that only 20.7% of the boys and 16.6% of the girls checked having to help their parents after school. This indicates that the majority of the students had time for their studies. This is further reinforced by the finding that 20.9% of the boys and 24.7% of the girls were unable to complete their work on time. Although only 16.6% of the girls had to help their parents after school, yet 35.2% felt they were not spending enough time at their studies. Only 23% of the boys checked this problem. It has been observed that girls generally tend to be more conscientious in their studies than boys. Their industrious nature and poor study habits could have generated this feeling that they were not putting in sufficient efforts in their studies.

Unlike their urban peers who complained that teachers were lacking in personality, disinterested in their students and inconsiderate of their feelings (Chiam, 1982), only a small number of rural adolescents shared a similar opinion of their teachers. On the whole, a large number of them felt that teachers were considerate of their feelings. Although most Malaysian teachers dislike being posted to the rural areas, yet the data show that they are performing their tasks well in rural schools. They receive less complaints from their students as compared to their counterpart in the urban areas. Perhaps, rural teachers put in more effort in their work since there is not much to distract them in the rural areas. Also, rural students are less critical of their teachers than their urban counterparts. Whatever the reason may be, teachers are receiving more respect in the rural areas.

Table 11

Problems Related to School and Studies

Problems	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
Worried about examinations	60.0	73.3	67.0
Worried about marks	40.0	47.5	43.7
Afraid of failing in schoolwork	57.6	66.7	62.2
Getting low marks	46.1	49.7	47.9
Trouble with mathematics	66.4	71.8	69.1
Cannot express myself well	32.8	36.8	34.8
Not smart enough	26.5	30.2	28.4
Do not know how to study effectively	60.1	62.0	60.9
Not spending enough time in studies	23.2	35.2	33.9
Not completing school work on time	20.9	24.7	26.7
Have to help parents after school	20.7	16.6	18.6
Teachers lacking in personality	9.3	7.4	8.4
Teachers not interested in students	6.1	4.2	5.1
Teachers inconsiderate of students' feelings	14.0	17.1	15.6
Not getting along with teachers	13.6	8.2	10.8

SUMMARY

In an attempt to know more about rural adolescents, a checklist of 195 problems was administered to 550 girls and 521 boys in three rural areas. The ages of these adolescents ranged from 13 to 17 years. A majority of them are of a low socioeconomic status. Inspite of their poverty, very few of them were ashamed of their homes and hoped for a different kind of family background. Family relationships were close and there was little conflict between them and their parents. However, this lack of conflict was probably due to the fact that they tend to give in to their parents, out of respect for them. Rural children enjoyed better family relationships than their urban peers.

Though they were troubled by poor complexion, they were satisfied with their physique. Like their urban peers, they tended to be timid, shy, sensitive, nervous, easily embarrassed, lacking in self-confidence and possessing an inferiority complex. They were also afraid to make mistakes and had difficulties in forgetting them.

Many of the adolescents admitted that they felt uncomfortable in the presence of others and they had nothing interesting to talk about. During the holidays, they neither had interesting pursuits nor did they utilise their leisure time well. The emphasis on academic subjects and academic excellence could have contributed to these problems of the adolescents.

The adolescents appeared to be very concerned about examinations and marks. They expressed their fear of failing examinations and other matters that they had been involved in. High parental expectations could function as a strong motivating force but at the same time, they could also create tension, mental agony, feelings of guilt and inadequacy, especially for those who are incapable of fulfilling their parents' expectations.

Boys tend to be better adjusted emotionally than girls who generally felt less loved, insecure and less worthy of themselves. These negative self-feelings could be brought about by parental preference for boys. Rural adolescents appeared to have less problems and are emotionally more secure than their urban adolescents. This could be due to the closer family relationship and the greater respect adolescents accord to their parents in rural communities.

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Psychology and Life of Korean Children and Adolescents

Joon Hee Park

INTRODUCTION

The researcher has carried out a nation-wide survey on the psychology and life of Korean children and adolescents in 1979. A questionnaire was used. The subjects, consisting of about 6,000 male and female students from the elementary school (4–6 grades), junior high (7–9 grades) and senior high school (10–12 grades), were randomly selected on a stratified basis. They were asked to respond to questions relating to their psychological make-up, national ethics, philosophy of life, and practical behaviour at home and in the school.

Generally, the results were favourable. It is suggested that the psychology and life of Korean children and adolescents had been influenced by traditional Confucian philosophy.

Five years following the completion of this study, the researcher recognised the need to carry out another survey to obtain comparative data and to make recommendations in connection with the guidance programme. The researcher hypothesised that there would be changes in the psychology and life of these students as compared to those surveyed in 1979. Firstly, the former group of students was born about five years later. Secondly, their way of thinking and life patterns would be different from the situation of 1979, having been influenced by political, economic, social and technological changes over the last five years. The second study was initiated in March 1983.

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Elementary School Pupils

Life Patterns

In terms of hours of sleep on a week day, 39.0% of 1,265 pupils slept a maximum of nine hours. By sex, the percentage for male and female students was 39.1% and 38.9% respectively. In comparing with the 1979 data, 48.1% of 651 pupils slept for a maximum of nine hours on a week day and the percentage of male and female students was 48.9 and 47.2 respectively. Here, it is suggest that the sleeping time of elementary school pupils a day has been reduced as compared to the data of five years ago. However, there is very little difference between male and female students in terms of hours of sleep a day.

A total of 31.7% of 1,265 pupils watched a maximum of three hours of television on a week day and the percentage of male and female students is 32.6 and 30.8 respectively. In contrast, 42.4% of 651 pupils viewed television for an hour during the week. There were 46.2% of male and 38.1% of female students. On the whole, the number of hours of television viewing has increased from one hour to three hours between 1979 and 1984. This may be due to the fact that television programmes have become much more attractive over the last five years with the development of educational shows.

About a third of the students spent from one to two hours in completing their homework. While about 34.0% of the male students spent this amount of time, the corresponding percentage for female students was 33.0. In the case of the 1979 data, about 37.0% of the subjects spent a similar period of time on their homework. There is therefore a slight decrease in the number of students devoting an hour or two on their homework.

In terms of leisure hours, 27.5% of the 1,265 students spent two hours of their time leisurely during the weekday. The equivalent in percentage for the subjects in 1979 was 32.6 but leisure time was only an hour instead of two. It is thus very interesting and a phenomenon worthy of serious consideration that the hours for homework had decreased and those for leisure time had increased. This perhaps would be due to psychological changes arising from changes in social mobility and structure, and the way of life in adulthood at home and in society. Students could have been influenced by the thoughts and life patterns of their parents and social leaders. Many of the parents and social leaders had developed greater interest in outside activities and accustomed to enjoy their own leisure time.

Lastly, in relation to reading time, 44.3% of the subjects spent an hour a day on reading. The male students constituted 44.9% and female students 43.7%. In comparing with the results of the 1979 survey, the overall percentage was 49.2 who read an hour a day. This suggests the decreasing tendency in students to read more than an hour a day.

Psychological Experiences

When asked "What kind of activity do you want to do?", 49.3% indicated that they would devote their services to the poor. The percentage involved is higher than that of 1979 when 41.9% indicated their desire to service the poor. Generally, a higher proportion of female than male students volunteered for such services.

With regard to ethics and respect for the national flag, more than 85.0% of the students were positive in their attitudes toward a code of ethics and national loyalty. However, the percentages involved had decreased between 1979 and 1984 and this might be of concern to expertise involved in the structure of moral and civic education programmes.

Junior and Senior High School Students

View of the State

When the respondents were asked "What do you want to do for the state?', 91.8% of 3,116 students wished to assist in the social development of the state. A majority of them are very patriotic. In 1979, the equivalent percentage was 90.9 of 3,878 students.

Typical responses to the question of 'What are the most prideful things in the state?' were 'the remarkable achievement in economic development' and 'the single ethnological nation that has overcome the national crisis'. The first response was given by 29.4% of 3,116 students and in this connection, the conviction of senior high school students was stronger than that of the junior high school students. With regard to the first response, the percentage of 1984 respondents was higher than those of 1979, and vice-versa in respect of the second answer.

More than half of the subjects expected Korea to develop into an advanced country. However, the expectation in terms of realisation was higher among students in junior high school than senior high school. In the 1979 survey, 68.9% of the respondents expected Korea to be an advanced country and once again, the junior high school students were stronger in their conviction than senior high school students.

View of Ethics

One of the ethical experiences is filial piety to parents which has been emphasised in societies steeped in Confucianism. In this respect, 54.9% believed and showed obedience to their parents. Data also indicated that senior high school students are much more obedient than junior high school students. In the survey of 1979, junior high school students were more obedient than those in the senior high schools.

It is shown that many of the high school students – 43.8% – valued the importance of lineage when they chose to marry. In the 1979 survey, the equivalent percentage was 53.3.

Finally, 59.7% of the 1,418 senior high school students rejected the idea of having intercourse before marriage. In 1979, 49.9% of them also rejected it. In this connection, the senior high school students are traditional about sex and morals.

View of the Home

On family life, most of the junior and senior high school students recognised the importance and the significance of home being a place where there is mutual sharing of love between family members. The percentage who believed in it was 90.2. The percentage difference between 1979 and 1984 data is negligible. Nowadays, most of them have come to realise the value of family relationship and this can be a very desirable development for human relationship within and outside the home.

To a majority of them, a good father is one that creates a warm home environment and permits children to behave freely. In this connection, the same definition was provided in the 1979 survey. Where mother's rates is concerned, as high as 93.5% of Korean wished mothers to be better housekeepers.

Schooling

On the real meaning of schooling, above 40% of them recognised school as a place where academic achievement and exploration of truth could be carried out. In the 1979 survey, however, more than half the respondents considered schools to be places where personality could be developed. Here, personality development was given higher priorities than academic achievement. Nevertheless, both parents and students realise that academic attainment would enhance their socio-economic status.

Many of the students recognised highly the value of a disciplined personality in their teachers. In fact, they would want these teachers to guide them in the development of personality.

CONCLUSION

The observation indicated above suggests that the psychology and life of children and adolescent in Korea have undergone some changes between 1979 and 1984. In some respects, they are desirable and in others less desirable. Without question, changes in political, economic and social situations had stimulated changes in patterns of family relationship, living standards and social structure. Improved educational programmes, facilities and environment need to be looked into to enhance better personal development and socio-national welfare.

SYMPOSIUM IV B : Mental Health and Adjustment

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Maznah Ismail*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. Seow Heng Loke*

Helping Children Manage Stress

Jayne G. Garside

INTRODUCTION

A ten-year old girl is not invited to the birthday party of one of the girls in the class. However, all the other girls in the class have been invited. A sixteen-year old high school junior is called out of the class to meet the principal. A five-year old goes to kindergarten on the very first day. A sixteen-year old girl is asked out on her first date by a very popular boy. A ten-year old boy is chosen as Student of the Week. What do all these people and situations have in common – stress!

This may surprise you because the last two situations both involve happy events. The fact is that it does not matter whether the situation is pleasant or unpleasant. What counts is the intensity of the demand it places on you to readjust. Selye, a Montreal physician and author of several books on stress, calls these incidents 'stressors'. He further states that physical reaction of the body to stress is basically the same regardless of the stressor. He feels that the only complete freedom from stress is death. Humans thrive on stress because it makes life more interesting. No matter what you are doing, you are under some amount of stress. Even when you sleep, your body must continue to function and react to the stress imposed by dreaming.

STRESS

Stress comes from two basic forces – the stress of physical activity and the stress of mental/emotional activity. It is interesting to note that stress from emotional frustration is more likely to produce disease such as ulcers than stress from physical work or exercise. In fact, physical exercise can help you relax and help you deal with mental stress. Then it would be true to assume that there is no such things as bad stress. However, there is a type of stress that can be harmful. For the purposes of this paper, we will refer to it as 'distress'. Distress is continual stress which causes you to constantly readjust or adapt. For example, having a job you do not like can be constantly frustrating and frustration is bad stress. If this distress lasts long enough, it can result in fatigue, exhaustion and even physical or mental breakdown.

Part of our ability to cope with stress comes from our understanding of it. Some stress is inherent in daily living. Stress can help us react quickly to remove ourselves or someone else from a dangerous situation. Too much stress, however, can take its toll on mind and body, making a person worried, sad or ill.

Reaction to Stress

One of the main causes of stress is change which is sudden or especially disagreeable. Regardless of the source of stress, the body has a three stage reaction to it.

(1) *Alarm stage* in which the body recognises stress and prepares for fight or flight. This is done by the release of hormones from the endocrin glands.

(2) *Resistance stage* when the body repairs any damage done by the stress. However, if the stressor does not go away, the body cannot repair the damage and must remain alert.

(3) *Exhaustion stage* which, if continued long enough, may cause the body to develop one of the 'diseases of stress' such as migrain headaches, heart irregularity and mental illness. Continued exposure to stress during the exhaustion stage causes the body to run out of energy and may even stop some bodily functions.

WAYS OF DEALING WITH STRESS

Since one cannot build a life completely free from stress or even distress, it is important to develop ways of dealing with stress. Ten very obvious ways of dealing with stress or of getting a 'handle on stress' and distress are listed, following which some activities that could be used for adolescents and children to help them become more aware of stress and manage stress more effectively in their lives are dealt with.

(1) Work off stress.
(2) Talk out your worries.
(3) Learn to accept what you cannot change.
(4) Avoid self-medication.
(5) Get enough sleep and rest.

(6) Balance work and recreation.
(7) Do something for others.
(8) Take one thing at a time.
(9) Give in once in a while.
(10) Make yourself available.

ACTIVITY

Activity 1 (Suitable for use with a group of adolescents).

Voting

A series of questions are asked and you are required to indicate an answer. You have to indicate your answer in a specific way. If you strongly agree with the statement read, you are to raise your arm and wave your hand. If you merely agree with the statement read, just raise your hand. If you have no feeling one way or another to disagree or to agree, put your hand out level with your body. If you disagree with the statement as read, lower your hand. If you strongly disagree with the statement as it is read, lower your hand and wave it about. As the statements are read and everyone votes, look around and see how others are voting on the same question. The questions are:

(1) How many of you have made a list of your present goals?
(2) How many of you keep a diary or a journal?
(3) How many of you are sensitive to all dimensions of life?
(4) How many of you regularly clear your mind of old stuff?
(5) How many of you accept what you cannot change?
(6) How many of you reward yourself frequently?
(7) How many of you get all the rest you need?
(8) How many of you eat a nutritionally balanced diet?
(9) How many of you do things for other people?
(10) How many of you make clear choices always?
(11) How many of you laught at yourself?
(12) How many of you take a nap every day?
(13) How many of you take time to be alone every day?

This particular activity is designed to help adolescents first of all, learn a little bit more about themselves and in the second place, to begin to relate to one another, to open up – to share of themselves. There are no right or wrong answers. There are only answers. In this activity, you would encourage all people to participate so that a part of the process of stress management may be observed as a sharing process.

Discussion

There are three red flags that can be watched for negative stress in a child's life.

(1) Unusual hyperactivity
(2) Lethargy
(3) Abnormal behaviour – abnormal behaviour being defined as any behaviour that up to that point has not been a part of the repertory of a student.

Once an individual such as a teacher, counsellor or psychologist is sure that the child is experiencing negative stress or distress, the source or sources need to be identified. The following ten rules may be utilised by those individuals working with small children in the management of stress.

(1) Do not overreact, be calm, be accurate.
(2) Treat their fears and anxieties with respect.
(3) Talk to them about the stress – be a good listener.
(4) Use desensitisation techniques.
(5) Provide opportunities for role playing.
(6) Constantly help the child to develop a positive self-concept.
(7) Anticipate stressful events and prepare the child.
(8) Give the child a balanced diet – cut out sweets.
(9) Have the child exercise.
(10) See that the child has enough rest.

Activity 2 (Might be suitable for either adolescent or small children).

Today

Instructions: You are to write down every activity that you have experienced since wakening up that has in any way caused stress. (The teacher or counsellor or group leader will allow sufficient time to elapse for the students to complete this assignment and then the teacher or worker will ask the students to go back to each of the activities that caused stress and indicate with a large check those activities that causes bad stress).

To differentiate bad stress from good stress, the facilitator may then ask questions such as, 'Did you have more bad stress or more good stress today?' The leader may also have the children share, if they will, those stresses that have occurred. This may not always be appropriate as some of the stresses or stressors may be very personal and not of a sharing nature.

Activity 3 (This motivity is appropriate for use with both adolescents and young children).

It might be modified for young children into a verbal activity. When working with adolescents, it might be a written activity.

STRATEGIES FOR COPING WITH STRESS

Directions: A list of categories in which we must develop activities to help us cope with stress is given. (This activity for small children might be prefaced with the comment, 'I am going to read some categories and under each category, we want to develop ideas of how we can cope with stress'). The categories are:

(1) Develop self understanding.
(2) Improve your mind.
(3) Develop healthy attitudes.
(4) Strengthen your body.
(5) Improve your personal relationships.
(6) Lift your spirit.
(7) Control your job. This category may be inappropriate for elementary and secondary schools.
(8) Improve your environment.
(9) Live a healthy life style.

There is a handout of these categories with some developed strategies for coping with stress under each one (Appendix 1). They are not comprehensive; there can be other ones added or some of these deleted. The object of this activity is to get the students themselves actively involved in identifying stress by developing ways that are for them meaningful in order to cope with the stress that is inevitable in their daily lives. As the activity is ending, you may share this with the students that you are dealing with.

> Now is the time for each one to develop a plan that you think will help you be more creative in managing your stress. The activities and strategies in Activity 3 are just some ideas. Everyone must choose their own plan and the changes they want to make. Both the challenge and the rewards are yours.

If this unit was taught to adults and work was carried out with them, two additional activities would be included. Probably, the first activity would be a test entitled, 'How is your stress score?' Basically, it is a rating scale that allows adults to rate 43 major life events to see how much stress is in any one person's life (Appendix 2).

Another activity would be a behaviour questionnaire entitled, 'Type A, Type B Behaviour Questionnaire' that would allow adults to respond to 18 items on topics relating to themselves such as finding out if certain types of reactions are *always* in a person's live, *sometimes* in a person's life, or *never* in a person's life thus designating a person by either Type A or Type B behaviour (Appendix 3).

For small children, it would be appropriate to have *several* class periods of short duration spent on dealing with the concept of stress management because children's attention span is less than in older children. With adolescents, a one-hour or possibly a two-hour unit on stress management alone would be considered, either all at one time or maybe in two different class periods which would allow the students enough time to really develop techniques for the alleviation of stress under each of the strategy areas.

It is a myth to think that we can eliminate stress in a child's world. However, we can help children and adoescents learn to cope with and manage stress once they understand the dynamics of stress. 'Successful stress management leads to successful life management'.

Appendix 1
Strategies for Coping With Stress

Develop Self-Understanding

Listen to the voices of your body.
Make a list of your present goals.
Keep a diary or journal.
Write down your successes.
Get feedback from trusted others on how they see you.
Make use of the helping professions.
Keep track of your stress quotient.
Learn what is controllable in your life and what is not.
Be fair and honest with yourself.

Improve Your Mind

Read about stress and human growth.
Learn about stress.
Be sensitive to all dimensions of life.
Take a course.
Go to the library.
Think about new ideas.
Clear your mind of 'old stuff'.

Develop Healthy Attitudes

Develop the attitude of appreciation.
Think positively; control negative thoughts.
Learn to accept what you cannot change.
Learn to like yourself.
Do not be afraid of failure, it is how you learn.
Practise living in the present, not in the past.
Get friendly with leisure.
Reward yourself frequently.

Strengthen Your Body

Learn to relax.
Get the rest you need.
Get regular vigorous exercise.
Eat a nutritionally balanced diet.
Lose or gain weight.
Control your input.
Dress the way that feels best for you.
Practise good posture.
Get a medical checkup.

Improve Your Personal Relationships

Seek out positive friends.
Share yourself with trusted friends.
Contact new people.
Do something for others.
Take charge of getting involved.
Give the other person a break.
Do not criticise and blame others.
Give in occasionally.
Make clear choices.
Face painful questions directly with professional help if necessary.

Appendix 1 (contd.)

Lift Your Spirit

Work towards expanding your life.
Keep things in proper perspective.
Try not to do wrong knowingly.
Learn to let go.
Allot 15 minutes, twice daily, for relaxation response.
Be able to laugh at yourself.
Learn to play again.
Buy yourself an inexpensive gift.

Control Your Job

Focus on one thing at a time.
Do not have to be perfect.
Define the purpose of your work.
Take some time off.
Take a nap at lunch.
Redefine your job.
Quit.

Improve Your Environment

Seek security.
Change time in a new environment.
Change residence.
Redecorate your home.
Cut down excessive noise.
Control the TV set.

Live a Healthy Lifestyle

Be yourself.
Arrange to have a variety in your life.
Take one thing at a time.
Try not to let things drift.
Plan for maximum comfort.
Learn to vary your pace.
Set up desirable and possible futures.
Take time to be alone every day.
Plan vacations to suit you.
Practice relaxed driving.
Develop a hobby.

Appendix 2
How Is Your Stress Score?

Some stress is necessary for life but too much stress is harmful. Drs. Thomas H. Holmes and Richard H. Rahe developed at the University of Washington Medical School a scale for measuring stress in terms of 43 'life events'. They say a person scoring less than 150 on their scale has only a 37% chance of becoming ill during the next two years. A score of 150 to 300 raises the odds to 51%, and a 300-plus score means you have an 80% chance of becoming seriously ill.

To find your score, check the events applying to you during the past twelve months. Then add up the total values.

Rank Event	Value	Your Score
Death of a spouse.	100	
Divorce.	73	
Marital separation.	65	
Jail term.	63	
Death of a close family member.	63	
Personal injury or illness.	53	
Marriage.	50	
Fired from work.	47	
Marital reconciliation.	45	
Retirement.	45	
Change in family member's health.	44	
Pregnancy.	40	
Sex difficulties.	39	
Addition to family.	39	
Business readjustment.	39	
Change in financial status.	38	

Appendix 2 (contd.)

Death of a close friend.	37
Change to different line of work.	36
Change in number of marital arguments.	35
Mortgage or loan over $10,000.	31
Foreclosure of mortgage or loan.	30
Change in work responsibilities.	29
Son or daughter leaving home.	29
Trouble with in-laws.	29
Outstanding personal achievement.	28
Spouse begins or stops work.	26
Starting or finishing school.	26
Change in living conditions.	25
Revision of personal habits.	24
Trouble with boss.	23
Change in work hours and conditions.	20
Change in residence.	20
Change in schools.	20
Change in recreational habits.	19
Change in church activities.	19
Change in social activities.	18
Mortgage or loan under $10,000	17
Change in sleeping habits.	16
Change in number of family gatherings.	15
Change in eating habits.	15
Vacation.	13
Christmas season.	12
Minor violation of the law.	11

Appendix 3
Type A/Type B Behaviour Questionnaire

Please indicate the frequency with which you experience the following feelings or situations by checking the appropriate response. An honest appraisal of yourself will help you better understand some of the factors that contribute to a sense of time urgency.

	Always	Sometimes	Never
Move, walk and eat rapidly.	___	___	___
Find it difficult to restrain myself from hurrying others when they are talking.	___	___	___
Get very irritated and upset when I have to wait in traffic, at a restaurant, or when performing repetitious tasks.	___	___	___
Feel guilty when I relax and do absolutely nothing for several hours.	___	___	___
Feel compelled to challenge anyone who is competitive.	___	___	___
Keep trying to schedule things tighter and tighter so that I can get more done.	___	___	___
Try to do two or more things at once (read while eating, etc.).	___	___	___

Appendix 3 (contd.)

	Always	Sometimes	Never
Complete others' sentences or hurry them in conversation.	___	___	___
Feel impatient with the rate at which things take place.	___	___	___
Believe that my success is due to my ability to get things done faster.	___	___	___
Find myself pounding the table or my hand to make a point in conversation.	___	___	___
Habitually clench my jaw or grind my teeth.	___	___	___
Value myself and others more by accomplishments than personal traits.	___	___	___
Explosively accentuate key words or hurry up the last few words in a sentence.	___	___	___
Have difficulty admitting any defect or emotional difficulty.	___	___	___
Find that my day is so tightly scheduled that by the end of the day, I am always behind.	___	___	___
Complete work being performed by others because they are not doing it fast enough.	___	___	___
Find myself constantly translating my accomplishments and those of others into numbers.	___	___	___

Estrangement: a Behaviour Problem**

Jaya Nagaraja

Rebellion and non-confirmity, lack of rapport and feeling of estrangement and affectionless attitude between a youngster and his/her immediate adults have been on the increase in recent years.

Studies have shown that (1) deprivation at a critical period of life (2) anxious and strict attitudes of parents towards their off-springs (3) over permissiveness and over solicitousness (4) diverse attitude of parents, each wanting to gain the 'love' of the child and (5) nonchalent attitude of parents have had their effects on the personality of adolescents. The concept of 'lack of identity' has contributed to this 'syndrome' of estrangement.

Open rebellion and proclaiming 'war' against the parents, wanting to go away from home and live by themselves, not wanting to conform to the pattern of a 'home', staying aloof, not discussing or mingling in family groups, demanding help from parents as part of the 'duty of parents', pointing out the shortcomings of parents and denouncing them, hating home and parents, and prefering to either stay with peer group or alone, craving for sympathy of peers, estrangement where parents often say 'he does not look like my child any more' are symptoms which require further studies to enhance effective child-rearing practices.

A group of 50 youngsters ranging from 12 to 19 years were studied where the estrangement syndrome was predominant. The case study method is used to illustrate this clinical entity.

The Trauma of Sexual Assault: Psychological Stress and Coping in Adolescent Victims[1]

Colleen Ward

INTRODUCTION

Sexual assault, particularly rape and incest, has recently emerged as a significant area of concern not only in the social sciences and helping professions but also in medical and legal spheres. The problem has been approached from a multi-disciplinary perspective with emphasis shifting from characteristics of the offense itself to the psycho-social impact of victimisation on sexually abused women. Recent research has concentrated on psychological adjustment problems of victims highlighting the significance and negative impact of rape myths and attitudes which blame and denigrate victims (Burt, 1980; Ward, 1983), the deficiencies in psychological, medical and legal facilities (Hilberman, 1977) and the need to improve counselling and social services (Courtois, 1979).

The issue of violence against women has also received attention in Singapore as evidenced by two national forums on the topic although little research has been done in this area.[2] The cultural influences which affect the prevalence of rape, institutional responses and psychological reactions of victims have not been systematically assessed despite empirical evidence which indicates that these phenomena vary cross-culturally (Sandy, 1981; Williams, 1979). In the Asian context, rape has not been a popular topic of investigation and with the exceptions of Lethbridge's (1980) sociological comments on rape in Hong Kong and Indian attitude studies by Kanckar and Kolsawilla (1980) and L'Armand, Pepitone and Shanmugam (1982), very few contributions have been made.

With this background and the financial support of the National University, an investigation of psycho-social aspects of rape in Singapore was begun in 1983. While still in its early stages of development, the overall project is broad-based and interdisciplinary and is directed toward the examination of three major areas: (1) socio-cultural factors related to rape (attitudes and values) (2) institutional responses to rape (police, legal, medical and social services) and (3) clinical aspects of rape (psychological coping in victims). The research presented here is concentrated on clinical aspects of sexual assault, in particular, psychological reactions and coping strategies in adolescent victims. It is not intended that this paper be a definitive account of sexual assault in Singapore but rather a tentative and exploratory one. The cases featured are only a small part of an ongoing and expanding project and are primarily utilised to identify common reactions to sexual assault and coping strategies among victims. It is hoped, however, that these data may also provide direction for future research.

SEXUAL ASSAULT IN SINGAPORE

With the exception of two medical studies and one comment from the legal profession, rape has not appeared as a topic among Singapore's scholarly literature (Koh, 1977; Ng, 1974; Sng and Ng, 1978). Nevertheless, the reported incidence of rape, incest and molestation, though still relatively low, has been steadily increasing. Reported rapes rose from 53 cases in 1973 to a peak of 93 in 1981, with 78 and 83 cases in 1982 and 1983 respectively (*Statistical Report on Crime in Singapore*, 1982)[3]. Molestation increased more than 300% in the past ten years with 454 cases referred to the police in 1983 (Palmer, 1983). Incest, a rarely reported crime, also rose but remained less than 10 cases per year. It is widely agreed, however, that the incidence of reported sex crimes is a poor and under-representative indicator of actual offenses (for example, Dean and de Bruyn-Kops, 1982) and this pattern is unlikely to differ in Singapore.

The 1964–76 medical statistics on alleged rape demonstrate an incidence rate of 16.42 per 100,000 female population (Sng and Ng, 1978).[4] Both medical and police records indicate that the majority of victims are young with well over half being under 20 years old. While occurring in all ethnic groups, the highest incidence is found in the Indian community followed by the Malays and Chinese (Sng and Ng, 1978). Contrary to popular stereotypes, a majority of rapes occur in residential areas and a majority of the victims know the rapist (Palmer, 1983). From a medical perspective, Ng's (1974) study reported that only a small number of cases sustain extragenital injury and that venereal disease and pregnancy are rare. A total of 13% of Ng's cases involved incest, the most common pattern being the father-daughter relationship although the incidence rate in Sng's and Ng's (1978) study was lower (6%).

From a legal and judicial perspective, the management of sex offenses in Singapore affords room for improvement. The police clearance rate for rape has been less than 50% and even a smaller proportion for molestation. Due to the small number of incest cases reported, the yearly clearance rate has been extremely variable (for example, 0% in 1980 but 56% in 1981). The number of cases taken to court for rape and incest has been low and convictions rare. For example, in 1981 when 93 cases of rape were reported, 22 cases reached the courts and two convictions were made.[6] For incest, nine reports were made, five cases were heard in court but no convictions were obtained (*Statistical Report on Crime in Singapore*, 1981).

PSYCHOLOGICAL REACTIONS AND COPING STRATEGIES OF SEXUAL ASSAULT: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As research has not been previously undertaken in Singapore on the topic, literature from other sources, most notably the United States, is presented. The most extensive research on psychological coping in rape victims has been undertaken by Burgess and Holmstrom (1974; 1979a) who offered crisis intervention to over 100 rape victims and followed these cases for a four to six year period after the sexual assault. Their research revealed that almost all victims suffer from a rape trauma syndrome, divided into an acute stage and a long-term reorganisation process and characterised by behavioural, somatic and psychological complaints. The acute stage is typically more disorganised while the reorganisation phase, commencing two to three weeks after the assault, may continue for a number of years. Similar patterns have been found by Fox and Scherl (1972), Sutherland and Scherl (1970) and Kilpatrick, Veronen and Resick (1979).

Numerous maladaptive consequences of rape have been documented by various researchers. Physical complaints include the actual rape trauma, muscle tension, gastro-intestinal irritability and genito-urinary disturbances (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1974). The emotional intensity of the experience often results in powerful feelings of fear, humiliation, embarrassment, revenge, self-blame, guilt and contamination and, most commonly, residual fears, anxieties and night mares remain (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1979a; Kilpatrick *et al.*, 1979; Libow and Doty, 1979). The negative impact of rape on self-esteem, interpersonal relations, subsequent sexual satisfaction and developmental task performance has also been highlighted and escapist strategies such as drug and alcohol abuse and attempted suicide have been documented (Burgess and Holmstorm, 1979b, 1979c; Feldman-Summers, Gordon and Meagher, 1979; Metzger, 1976).

Despite the prevalence of maladaptive reactions, rape victims also employ constructive strategies, both consciously and unconsciously, to alleviate distress and anxiety. Burgess and Holmstrom (1979a) have enumerated three common defense mechanisms utilised to cope with anxiety: (1) explanation (rationalisation, providing some reason for the rape in order to 'make sense' of the sexual assault (2) dramatisation (repeatedly over-expressing psychological reactions in order to dissipate negative emotions) and (3) minimisation (diminishing the significance of the event by comparison and reducing anxiety to a lesser and more manageable level). They also found that suppression, conscious cognitive strategy, was employed to inhibit unpleasant memories. In comparison, Fox and Scherl (1972) detected an extensive use of defense mechanisms, particularly denial and repression, in victims. Other coping techniques included a variety of task-oriented reactions and social changes directed at alleviating anxiety. These were often dependent on the particular circumstances surrounding the rape. Strategies such as changing residence, telephone number or job, withdrawing from school and turning to family for support were commonly observed (Burgess and Holmstrom 1974, 1979a).

It is important to recognise that reactions to rape, like any other life crisis, are influenced by a host of mediating variables such as victim's personality and ego strength, social support network, prior life stress, stage of life span and the treatment by relevant institutions. Burgess and Holmstrom (1974, 1978, 1979a) noted that victims with past or current physical, psychological or social difficulties generally experience compounded reactions and have more symptoms of depression, psychotic behaviour, psychosomatic disorders and substance abuse. They also demonstrated that earlier sexual victimisation, chronic life stresses such as economic hardship and lack of social support and pre-existing bio-psychological problems such as drug or alcohol abuse tend to delay recovery.

Despite the generalised findings on the aftermath of sexual assault, psychological coping in children and adolescents may differ significantly from that of adults who compose the majority of samples in studies of rape. It is obvious that task disruption will vary over the life span (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1979c) but psychological adjustment *per se* in young victims remains a more controversial issue. While early research highlighted emotional trauma, some later work has more critically examined this contention. Burton (1968) and Yorukoclu and Kemph (1969) have maintained that in general, sexual assaults on children do not have 'excessively unsettling effects on personality development', and Gagnon (1965) has argued that sexual victimisation has no long-term effects on adult adjustment. There is other evidence, however, that while children and adolescents may show no immediate maladjustment in response to sexual assault, the consequences are delayed and confront them again upon reaching sexual maturity (McCahill, Meyer and Fischman, 1979).

Psychological reactions of young victims must be interpreted in light of the fact that these girls have neither the cognitive maturity nor emotional and sexual expertise to comprehend the nature and consequences of sexual assault. When moral reasoning is not sufficiently developed, the child may be a willing partner or offer only passive resistance (Flammang, 1975, Schultz, 1975). In fact, Gagnon (1965) found that physical force and violence to achieve sexual gratification with children were rare (less than

5%).[7] The victim's relationship to the abuser and societal, institutional and parental reactions to the incident are also important. In this context, Schultz (1975) has posited that a child makes the best recovery from sexual assault if the incident is non-violent and involves a stranger. These interpretations are not meant to suggest that sexual assault on young girls is consequential but that due to developmental limitations, there is a great variety of reactions at this stage. In fact, Burgess and Holmstrom (1978, 1979b) have indicated that if sexual assault is the first sexual experience, the consequences are typically long-term. Similarly, Gibbons and Prince (1963) found that 36% of their child and adolescent sample experienced resultant behavioural problems, required therapy or demanded institutionalisation.

Incestuous relationships with children and adolescents is a more specific problem as in addition to the sexual assault, the event is complicated by the emotional intensity of the incest taboo, disruptions in the family organisation and severe social and legal sanctions against the behaviour (Renvoize, 1982; Tan, 1983). The majority of research in this area has emphasised intense emotional disruptions and psychological coping difficulties in girls involved in incentuous relationships. During and after the involvement, feelings of guilt, shame, confusion, anxiety, fear, anger, resentment and hostility are often apparent. Self-blame as well as a sense of responsibility for causing family disintegration may also be observed. Neurotic, psychosomatic and behavioural symptoms are commonly reported including self destructive activities, drug abuse, truancy and sexual promiscuity (Steele and Alexander, 1981). Homosexual experimentation has been occasionally associated with father-daughter incest as are sexual disorders in later life. Depression, attempted suicide and low self-esteem have also been documented (Meiselman, 1978).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study was undertaken with the co-operation and support of the Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Social Affairs. Social workers (after-care officers) in Children and Youth Services furnished a comprehensive list of sexually abused girls who are under the department's care, either in residential homes or under current supervision. Although the project is ongoing, fifteen cases have been referred from September, 1983. Of these, eleven have been interviewed, three are awaiting interview and a girl declined to participate in the study.

The girls ranged in age from 12 to 19 although in some cases the actual assault took place as early as nine years. Chinese, Malay, Indian and Eurasian girls were included in the sample. The majority of victims were from the lower socioeconomic bracket. Only four cases, however, are presented here for illustrative purposes (see Table 1 for case details).

Due to the small sample size and ongoing nature of the project, statistical analysis has not been performed.

All girls were interviewed by a female psychologist or social worker who used an open-ended interview schedule divided into six major areas: current information and life history (biodata), description of the sexual assault, psychological responses at the time, subsequent psychological reactions, current problems or difficulties, and evaluation of self-esteem.[8] The girls were also administered the Mooney Problem Check List. Supplementary information was obtained from the Department of Welfare files and case history reports as well as residential staff and after-care officers. All interviews were conducted in private with assurance of confidentiality.

It is important to acknowledge two methodological weaknesses of this investigative approach. Firstly, as girls are asked to recollect experiences of sexual assault, retrospective inaccuracies may be apparent, biasing objective recording of the events.[9] Secondly, these girls are not representative of sexual assault victims in Singapore as (1) cases were reported to the police (2) cases warranted intervention by welfare authorities and (3) victims home environments were typically judged to be unstable and families unsuitable to retain custody. In these instances, it is obvious that victims suffer not only from the trauma of sexual assault but other psycho-social disadvantages and emotional deprivations which may exacerbate psychological adjustment problems. Nevertheless, this study has been described as an exploratory investigation which may contribute to the foundation of research on sexual assault in Singapore and provide direction for further inquiry into this area.

CASE HISTORIES OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

Case 1: HLC

History

HLC is the eldest daughter in a Chinese family of six children. She was living with both parents and siblings at the age of nine when she alleged that she was raped by her father. At the time, she was unable to articulate the details of the assault,but described the event as painful and frightening. She also indicated that her father frequently beat her.

Mr. H., then employed in the Armed Forces, denied all charges. He was suspended from his job but not formally charged with incest due largely to reluctance and timidity of his wife to pursue the matter. HLC was taken into the protective custody of the Department of Social Welfare during this period.

HLC's case records indicate some emotional difficulties in connection with the sexual assault, particularly fear and resentfulness toward her father. For the most part, however, she had a tendency to deny emotional responses and did not like to talk about her victimisation. In addition to emotional discomfort, her schooling was disrupted at that time and she was forced to repeat Primary Two.

At the age of 13, HLC was referred to a child psychiatric clinic for treatment of her fear and distrust of men. This followed a phobic attack of screaming in a public park and difficulties in interpersonal relations with her adopted 'uncle'. She received therapy for more than two years with the psychiatric records discounting any mental disorder but pointing to considerable anxiety about puberty and emerging sexuality. Despite emotional difficulties, HLC is described by welfare staff as warm, loving, polite and well-liked.

Interview

HLC was 15 years old and attending secondary school when she was asked to recall the sexual assault which had occurred six years earlier. She expressed hesitation and considerable anxiety about explaining reason for her admission to the home. The girl obviously found the topic difficult to discuss and became tearful at one point during the interview. HLC was able to describe the sexual assaults to some extent, particularly the violent aspects as she was bound with cord, partially stripped and threatened with a wooden rod. She was unable or unwilling to relate the sexual details but repeated the statement that her father had raped her. She also indicated that she unsuccessfully struggled in resistance and cried loudly during the assault. Feelings of shame and embarrassment surfaced, and HLC admitted that she harboured anger and resentment toward her father. Although she disliked him, she did not feel guilty or self-blaming.

HLC maintained that she is still fearful of her father. It seems that this apprehension has been generalised as she mentioned that she is afraid that people will 'disturb her' and has also admitted that she still has a tendency to avoid males. In addition to these anxieties, her self-esteem appears low (see Appendix I for results of the Mooney Problem Check List).

Case 2: CH

Case history

CH, the only dauthter in a Eurasian family, experienced a rather unstable childhood as evidenced by the death of her father at an early age. While Mr. H. was described as kind and loving, his wife had developed a notorious reputation for sexual promiscuity both during and after her marriage. Having a history of night-club employment, Mrs. H. began to cohabit with Mr. M. soon after her husband's death. At that time, CH was seven years old.

At age ten, CH's case was referred to the Department of Social Welfare by a relative. CH alleged that she had sexual relations with her mother's lover (whom she called 'daddy') numerous times with her mother's consent and encouragement. She experienced some conflict over this activitiy but co-operated as her mother feared that Mr. M. who supported the household would leave them for another woman. This story was further corroborated by a teacher with whom CH had previously discussed this matter.

CH's medical examination revealed that she was *non virga intacta;* the case was referred to the police and Mr. M. was charged in court but convicted of a lesser offense of molestation (outrage of modesty). CH was taken into a welfare home at that time but soon after transferred to a convent school. Mr. M. served nine months in prison and upon his release married CH's mother.

The case records indicate that in the earliest stages following the sexual assault, CH remained emotionally close to Mr. M. and attempted to keep in contact with him. At a later stage, CH became very hostile towards him and tended to avoid him. CH's mother has requested her release from welfare protection a number of times but has been denied permission although she retains visiting rights.

Both welfare and convent staff have found CH to be a problematic and difficult adolescent who is particularly prone to lying. She has been reprimanded a number of times for sexual discussions with peers and has been caught bringing pornographic literature to school. Her academic work has not been good with the sisters complaining that she is lazy, dreamy and does not complete her homework. CH has a record of truancy and has been suspended from school. She has also absconded from the convent.

Of great concern to CH is her problem of bed-wetting. In addition, she seems to have some difficulty relating to authority figures. The convent staff have complained about her behavioural problems – acting out, smoking and going out with men. CH also threatened suicide at one time when she believed that she would be returned to a welfare institution.

Interview

CH was 15 and attending secondary school when she was interviewed and asked to recount her experiences five years earlier. She talked freely about the events in a detached manner almost as if she were relating an incident which had happened to another girl. CH was very matter-of-fact in her descriptions and did not appear to display anxiety over the sexual assault *per se* but rather over other aspects of her current interpersonal relations and plans for the future. CH recalled that Mr. M. requested to have relations with her many times but that initially, her mother had refused permission. CH reasoned that her mother was unable to satisfy Mr. M.'s carnal desires after an illness and operation. Upon her mother's objections, Mr. M. would typically become quarrelsome and leave the home. In desperation, Mrs. H. finally agreed to the relationship fearing the loss of her lover. At that time, she would scold CH if she was uncooperative and bribed her with gifts to insure compliance.

CH maintained that she neither chose to co-operate nor enjoyed the relations although her resistance was predominantly verbal with occasional physical withdrawal. She was able to give a vivid description of the sex act including fondling and penetration which she found painful. She described herself as passive during the assaults. For the duration of the relationship, CH recounted that she had little moral understanding of the event and was pressured by her mother. As an obedient child, she complied and when she found the sexual relations painful and unbearable, she would apologise to her mother for her recalcitrance.

Mrs. H. repeatedly demonstrated her loyalty and devotion to her lover by abusing CH for admitting the sexual assaults to authorities, insisting that CH apoligise to Mr. M. and later marrying the man upon his release from prison. CH now views Mr. M. with loathing and admits that she will never forgive him. This is probably based on her realisation that Mrs. H. retains greater concern for her husband and CH's increasing cognitive maturity and more insightful understanding of the significance of these events. This is contrasted with CH's earlier fondness for Mr. M. as evidenced by her previous correspondence with him and requests to visit him in prison. Currently, CH expresses considerable anger about the incident and although she blames Mr. M., she feels guilty for being part of the relationship.

Mr. M. poses no immediate threat to CH as she rarely sees him, but their past involvement causes her anxiety about current and future interpersonal relationships. In contrast to the current convent complaints, CH maintained that she has some friends but seldom mixes with boys. She recounted feelings of sadness and shame about the past and expressed considerable concern about her loss of virginity. CH also mentioned that she fears recalling the past when she does eventually become involved in mature emotional and sexual relations. Although ambivalent about marriage, CH exhibited some discomfort about her value on the marriage market. More significantly, CH suffers with nightmares of becoming a prostitute. This is most likely linked to the fact that her mother has a history of night-club employment and sexual promiscuity.

CH admits to behavioural problems such as lying but is particularly concerned with her enuresis which she maintains commenced only when her mother began to cohabit with Mr. M. Her most prominent anxieties are centred on her relationship with her mother and involvement with members of the opposite sex. Her self-esteem is low and she says she likes herself 'a bit only' (refer to Appendix 1 for results of Mooney Problem Check List).

Case 3: TAC

Case history

TAC is the second daughter in a Chinese family of four children. She was ten years old when her case came to the attention of the welfare authorities through the complaints of neighbours. Investigation revealed that TAC and her older sister had been repeatedly molested by their father although medical examinations demonstrated that both girls were still *virgu intacta.* The case was never taken to court as the mother was reluctant to testify and in the general interest of the family, Mr. T. was given a stern warning. Both sisters were taken into welfare custody while the brothers remained in the family home. Mr. T. was referred for psychiatric attention and treated for depression.

Although TAC disliked molestation, she often complied due to fear. Case records do not indicate any intense emotional reactions. In addition, welfare staff have commented that although sometimes fearful, she bears no grudge against her father for his misbehaviour. During her stay in welfare facilities, TAC was allowed regular home leave and was eventually discharged 1½ years after her admission. The staff have described her as well behaved, obedient and friendly and as having no obvious adjustment problems.

Interview

TAC was interviewed at age 12, 1½ years after the sexual assault incidences. She was attending primary school and awaiting discharge from the children's home.

During the interview, TAC displayed discomfort and nervousness, often fidgeting and avoiding eye contact. She was not expressive but described the sexual assaults as breast and genital fondling which she estimated occurred between five and ten times. TAC maintained that this was very unpleasant and that she would often push her father away but she did not resist strenuously as she was fearful and observed that her older sister was beaten for resistance. TAC also commented that the act was wrong and that she feels shameful.

TAC does not appear to have obvious psychological adjustment problems although her school performance was extensively disrupted. The most significant area of concern, however, arises in relationship to unresolved conflict and ambivalent feelings toward her father. TAC readily acknowledges that she loves her father and that she believes he loves her. Yet she perceives him as fierce and frightening. She is quick to defend him, saying that he has not molested her since her admission to the home. Although TAC maintains that her father will not harm her again, she remains fearful and unable to articulate the bases of the fear. Uncomfortable in the response, TAC admitted that she would prefer to remain in the welfare institution rather than be discharged to her parents' care.

TAC also recounted the story of the police investigation highlighting the fact that she was asked if she would prefer to 'send her father to jail or give him another chance'. While opting for the latter, she obviously felt uncomfortable being put in the position to choose. During further discussion, TAC admitted anger towards her father but also felt guilty about such emotions. She tends to repress negative emotions as she believes they are unacceptable.

When asked about future ambitions, TAC said she would like to be a teacher. She had no interest in marriage or motherhood. With respect to personality, self-confidence is low (refer to Appendix I for Mooney Problem Check List results).

Case 4: LBB

Case history

LBB is the eldest daughter in a Chinese family of six children. Her mother deserted the family when she was seven and her father died the following year. Although cared for by various family members at this time, she was found to be difficult and was taken into welfare custody at the age of 12 but discharged three years later. Due to problems with family relations, LBB, her younger sister and elder brother chose to live together in rented accommodation. During this period when she was aged 16, her brother attempted rape. LBB reported the incident to welfare authorities and was admitted to a girls' hostel. Her medical examination revealed that she was *virga intacta* but the case was referred to the police. LBB's brother was charged and he pleaded guilty to molestation (outrage of modesty) and was jailed for two months.

Attempted rape by her brother was not the only sexual victimisation LBB suffered.[10] At age 17 when residing in the hostel and working in a clothing shop, LBB was assaulted by an acquaintance, Mr. P. At this time, she accepted a lift home with the young man. Instead of returning her to the hostel, however, he drove her to a deserted spot and molested her. LBB alleged that Mr. P. partially undressed her and fondled her breasts. She denied penetration but admitted that the young man had ejaculated. When she returned to the hostel appearing upset and reported the matter to the resident staff, they reacted with scepticism noting that there was no evidence of a struggle and suggested that she might have consented and later changed her mind. After some hesitation, LBB lodged a police report. Mr. P. was arrested and pleaded guilty to molestation.

LBB's current relationship with her siblings is not good due to the charge made against her brother. She has, however, located her mother and established a warm relationship. She also has a steady boyfriend. Hostel staff have found LBB difficult to manage, quarrelsome and resentful of welfare regulations. She is generally perceived as problematic, being manipulative, cunning, aggressive and attention-seeking although she has recently demonstrated some improvement. The staff also suspect LBB of homosexual activities after finding her partially unclothed and in bed with another hostel girl.

Interview

LBB was 19 years old and employed in a factory at the time of the interview. She recounted details of both sexual assaults which had occurred 2 to 3 years earlier. In contrast to welfare records, LBB appeared soft spoken and co-operative. She did admit, however, that she is sometimes 'naughty' and is often scolded by the staff. She also added that she is hot-tempered, quarrelsome, somewhat proud and has a problem of smoking. LBB commented that she liked her job and had many friends at the factory.

When questioned about the incentuous assault, LBB spoke freely and demonstrated considerable knowledge about sexuality. She maintained that her brother threatened her and partially undressed her but did not complete intercourse. There are, however, some inconsistencies in her story as she recounted her struggle, threats to scream and even to kill her brother but also maintained that she was so sleepy she 'didn't exactly know what was happening'. LBB appeared more willing or able to relate details of her resistance than the assault.

LBB conveyed that she was saddened by the incident and quite ashamed. She was very concerned about her credibility, particularly in the eyes of her relatives. Soon after the incident, her depression was so great that she considered committing suicide. Years later, she became more philosophical about the event and perceived it as an unfortunable situation but did not really blame her brother. LBB did mention, however, that her brother had molested her earlier at the age of 12 but that she did not understand the nature or significance of the relationship. Currently, she remains distant from all of her brothers.

Considerable embarrassment was displayed by LBB when questioned about the second incident. She devoted a great deal of time and effort to justifying reasons for accepting a lift from Mr. P. For this misjudgement, she felt great responsibility. LBB described the assault as frightening and maintained that she cried and actively struggled in resistance. She recounted that Mr. P. fondled her and attempted penetration but that she was able to resist successfully.

LBB mentioned her current boy-friend who seems to be a great source of emotional satisfaction but denied engaging in sexual activities with him. She expressed a number of rape-related fears such as fear of Mr. P., fear of working as a salesgirl, fear of secluded places and unwillingness to spend private moments with her boyfriend.

LBB describes herself in predominantly negative terms. She admits to smoking and occasionally drinking. She sometimes recalls the past with great sadness and avoids being along at these times. LBB also complained of bad dreams, particularly about losing friends and dying. Although she has a steady boyfriend, she expressed ambivalence about marriage and motherhood. She also indicated that the reunion with her mother had positively affected her and that she feels burdened with worries about her younger sister (see Appendix I for results of Mooney Problem Check List).

DISCUSSION

The psycho-dynamics of rape reactions may be effectively analysed in terms of a 'stress and coping' theoretical framework (Notman and Nadelson, 1976). From this perspective, sexual assault is viewed as a life event which precipitates a state of stress, disrupting a pre-existing equilibrium between the individual and the environment and taxing the individual's resources to manage adjustive demands and restore equilibrium. In any stressful situation, an individual may utilise a variety of reactive coping techniques, both conscious and unconscious, adaptive and maladaptive. Burgess and Holmstrom's (1974) research has forcefully demonstrated that most victims of sexual assault do experience difficulties in managing the crisis and while exhibiting a traumatic syndrome, implement a mixture of successful and unsuccessful coping strategies. The severity of the stress situation and subsequent coping alternatives are mediated by a variety of biological, psychological and social factors including specific aspects of the assault as well as predisposing variables (e.g. personality) and current life circumstances (e.g. support network). Burgess and Holmstrom have demonstrated that even when sexual assault victims are able to diminish effectively the rape trauma, residual fears and anxieties frequently remain. Maladaptive reactions or ineffectual coping strategies are often difficult to modify, particularly if progressively incorporated into the individual's psychological make-up.

The cases analysed here are products of retrospective reporting and relate information spanning a 1½ to 6 year period. As such, victims' recollections of immediate reactions to sexual assaults (the acute stage) may be somewhat biased. The data are more accurately representative of psychological stress and copying in the long term reorganisation phase and current consequences of previous sexual assaults.

Defense Mechanisms

Denial of responsibilities and repression of sexual details of assault were common defensive strategies. HLC, for example, appeared to memorise the statement 'My father raped me', but was unable to describe the event. Similarly, LBB maintained that she was 'too sleepy' to know exactly what had occurred, consequently minimising her participation in and responsibility for the sexual assault although she was able to provide details of her resistance.

Various rationalisation strategies also occurred with victims struggling to 'make sense of the rape event'. TAC rationalised that her father required psychiatric attention and therefore, should not be punished for his offense. In CH's case, participation in sexual relations with her stepfather was rationalised in terms of obedience to her mother and fear that Mr. M. would desert the family, withdrawing his financial support. LBB utilised various modes of rationalisation in reaction to her assaults. In the case of attempted rape by her brother, she reasoned that the encounter was the outcome of unfortunate circumstances and lack of parental care and supervision. She neither blamed hearself nor her brother. In the incident of assault by Mr. P., LBB held herself responsible for accepting a lift which led to sexual coercion but provided abundant excuses for her willingness to do so.

Minimisation was observed only in TAC's case where she asserted that her sexual assaults were not as bad as those experienced by her elder sister both in terms of frequency and violence. Burgess and Holmstrom (1977a) noted that victims tend to minimise their rape experiences in relation to their perceptions of rape, their current life situations, other victims or prior life experiences. As children and adolescents have little conception of rape or few comparable experiences, it is unlikely that minimisation would be a strategy commonly employed by this age group.

Unlike the Burgess and Holmstrom (1979a) study, dramatisation was neither observed in these cases nor was it found in the other girls who were interviewed. This is not surprising as in the Asian cultural context, individuals are usually reluctant to speak about personal matters in general and highly emotional, traumatic or stigmatising circumstances, in particular. In fact, Ho (1980) has emphasised the training in self-control typically given to Chinese children. In contrast to dramatisation or repeatedly over-expressing the emotional trauma, emotional insulation was observed in two cases. CH, most specifically, and LBB, to a lesser extent, were able to relate the details of sexual assault without emotional involvement almost as if the incidents had happened to someone else. Emotional insulation or detachment has been identified as a mechanism of defense from unavoidable hurt and functions as a protective armour from stressful situations (Coleman, 1979).

Defense mechanisms, on the whole, operate to preserve personality integrity and are initiated on the unconscious level. They are not pathological unless used to extremes and result in the distortion of reality. In these instances of sexual assaults, defense mechanisms have been used effectively to diminish anxiety. It is important to note, however, that conscious strategies have also been utilised to deal with trauma. Suppression of rape-related memories has been observed as a conscious and deliberate cognitive strategy employed to manage anxiety. In fact, the one girl who declined to participate in the study did so on the basis of being unwilling to 'bring up unpleasant memories'. Certain adapative task-oriented reactions were also noted such as LBB's report of assault to the welfare authorities and CH's discussion with teachers. Task-oriented reactions, however, are not highlighted here as emphasis is placed on psychological coping strategies and maladaptive consequences of sexual assault.

Consequences of Sexual Assault

A variety of maladaptive consequences – physical, psychological, emotional and behavioural complaints – of sexual assault were observed in adolescent victims. It is very difficult, however, to identify all symptoms as direct and explicit outcomes of sexual victimisation. As these girls had been subjected to prior life stressors and psychosocial deprivation and as such factors have been proven to exacerbate psychological problems in rape victims (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1978; 1989a & c), the psychological consequences of sexual assault should be viewed from an interactive perspective.

Acute and long-term emotional responses to sexual assault include shame, guilt, embarrassment, anger, sadness, and self-blame. In most instances, the emotional reactions are manageable although in LBB's case, she found the emotional upheaval so great at one point that suicide was considered. More long-term and significant psychological difficulties include nightmares and phobias. A number of the nightmares appear rape-related such as CH's dreams of becoming a prostitute. In other instances such as LBB's dreams of loss and death, tangential themes are apparent. Phobias, however, are prominently related to the characteristics of sexual assault. Fear of men (HLC) and of being alone or of frequenting dark and secluded places (LBB) were documented.

Anxiety over emerging sexuality and psycho-sexual adjustment difficulties were apparent in the three older cases (ages 15–19). LBB's case may, perhaps, be the most dramatic as evidenced by homosexual experimentation although the reactions demonstrated by CH and HLC are more typical. CH openly expressed not only sexual concerns, particularly with reference to male-female relations, but also exhibited anxiety about (loss of) virginity. HLC's fear of men evolved during adolescence with the link between her anxieties and emerging puberty corroborated by psychiatric reports. In some instances, the period of adolescence heralds a re-evaluation of the significance and consequences of sexual assault in childhood. CH, for example, admitted that she did not comprehend the nature of her 'incestuous' relationship at the time and retained 'fondness for her stepfather after the events. Her feelings changed, however, after puberty when she developed a loathing for the man and maintained that she would never forgive him for his behaviour. This evidence is consistent with McCahill's *et al* (1979) contention that young victims may not evidence immediate psychological adjustment problems but that the trauma may be delayed until puberty or even later when developing intimate relationships with members of the opposite sex.

Enuresis was observed in one case and although CH maintained that this problem began when her mother first cohabited with Mr. M., this is difficult to corroborate. Conduct disorders and acting out behaviours such as truancy, smoking, drinking, lying, stealing, absconding and aggressive displays were also observed. It would be impossible to attribute directly these activities to previous sexual assaults although they are likely related to poor family relations and prior emotional deprivation. These are common attention-seeking behaviours in adolescents, particularly those who are not able to maintain warm and stable relations (Adams and Gullotta, 1983). The same unstable family environment which may predispose these girls to incentuous assaults has most likely contributed additionally to resultant behavioural problems. Along similar lines, academic failures and school disruptions were noted in two cases (HLC and TAC). While this cannot be attributed directly to victimisation *per se*, it is probable that the disruptions are reliant on the combination of emotional distress and a constellation of social changes (e.g. separation from family, admission to welfare institution) which occurred as consequences of sexual assault. The same may be true of health problems indicated by the Mooney Problem Check List, e.g. sleep disorders, stomach pains and others.

Psychological testing also indicated low self-esteem in victims of sexual assault. Responses such as 'wanting a more pleasing personality' (3/4), 'wishing people liked me' (3/4), 'sometimes wishing I'd never been born' (3/4), and 'can't forget mistakes' (2/4) were common on the Mooney Problem Check List. While the association between sexual assault and low self-esteem cannot be confirmed as causal in nature, it is interesting to note that Walker (1979) found low levels of self-esteem in women who remained in physically and sexually abusive relationships. Herman (1981) also found low self-esteem in adult women who had previously been victims of incentuous assaults.

Interpersonal relations are markedly affected following sexual assault. Ambivalence about marriage and motherhood is often expressed. This is particularly striking in the Singaporean context where sex-role socialisation pressures are exceptionally strong for girls (Quah, 1980). Even in LBB's case where she had established an intimate emotional relationship with a steady boyfriend, she maintained there was no sexual expression of affection and remained ambivalent about future marriage plans.

The greatest anxieties and unresolved conflicts concerning interpersonal relations, however, seem to emerge in incentuous relationships where pressure to reconstitute the family unit is apparent. In these instances, the girl experiences conflicting demands between her own psychological priorities and her responsibilities to her family. While this dilemma has been noted by a number of researchers in the field (Renvoize, 1982; Steele and Alexander, 1981), the significance of family responsibilities may be even greater in the Asian context. Typically, collectivism is valued at the expense of individuality (Ho, 1980) and filial piety demands are high (Ho, 1982). In TAC's case, although she is defensive about her father and maintains that he should be given another chance, she remains fearful of him. She reluctantly admits anger and resentment toward Mr. T and yet feels guilty and ashamed of these unfilial emotions. This emotional ambivalence and psychological conflict may have far-reaching adjustive consequences, particularly if the issues are not resolved in adolescence.

Burgess and Holmstrom's (1978) research indicates that prior life stresses such as economic deprivation, unstable emotional relationships and prior victimisation may impede psychological adjustment in rape victims. The cases reported here are largely characterised by poor environmental factors and extensive psychosocial stressors. This research is unable to determine experimentally if victims are consequently 'more' or 'less' affected by these factors but the impact of the psycho-social and environmental variables will undoubtedly modulate the severity of stress and shape subsequent coping strategies. The psycho-dynamic interpretation of stress and coping in rape victims, nevertheless, may be effectively analysed from an idiographic perspective with identification of these predisposing and mediating variables and their effects on psychological coping reactions. While this investigative approach may be unable to predict an individual's reaction to rape, it is able to interpret and explain the dynamics of stress and coping in victims.

All in all, this exploratory study indicates that psychological consequences of sexual assault in Singaporean adolescents closely resembles patterns observed in other cultural contexts. Denial, repression, minimisation, rationalisation and emotional insulation are commonly employed defense mechanisms. Dramatisation, however, was not observed. Emotional and psychological disturbances such as nightmares and phobias were apparent and acting out behaviours were also documented. The area of interpersonal relations and emergent sexuality were particularly important as victims expressed some anxiety about male-female relationships and ambivalence toward marriage and motherhood. Unresolved conflicts in incestuous families were also prominent and evidence was

Table 1
Characteristics of Sexual Assault Cases

Case		Age At Time of Assault	Age At Time of Interview	Time Difference (Years)
HLC	Raped by natural father	9	15	6
CH	Raped by mother's lover	10	15	5
TAC	Molested by natural father	10.5	12	1.5
LBB	Attempted rape by brother	16	19	3
	Attempted raped by acquaintance	17	19	2

presented that victims' interpretation and evaluation of sexual assault changes over time and with maturity.

Table 2
Psychological Reactions and Maladaptive Consequences of Sexual Assault

Classification	Reactions	
Emotional reactions	anger sadness guilt	embarrassment shame
Defense mechanisms	denial represession rationalisation	minimisation emotional isolation suppression+
Maladaptive consequences Psychological	nightmares phobias anxiety over sexuality	consideration of suicide low self-esteem++
Behavioural/ emotional	bed wetting homosexual experimentation	acting out behaviours: lying, stealing, truancy, absconding++
Interpersonal	difficulties in relationships with males, unresolved feelings toward father, ambivalence about marriage and motherhood.	

Notes. + Conscious strategy.
++ Associated with sexual assault but not necessarily a cause and effect relationship.

Implications for Therapists

While this is not intended to be a comprehensive therapeutic guide, some general recommendations can be made based on the characteristics of cases presented here. Primary prevention of sexual assault is a long-range objective involving broad social and structural reform including emphasis on sex role socialisation and attitudes toward violence. From a judicial perspective, deterrent measures like legal reform and harsher sentences for convicted offenders would only bear fruit in the more distant future. For current victims of sexual assault, secondary prevention and crisis counselling may be the most effective way to deal with rape trauma. This approach may be particularly effective if supplemented with moral and sexual education for adolescents and public education programmes to make individuals aware of the psychological and social services which are available. Unfortunately, remedial services will still be required and in some cases long-term therapeutic intervention may be demanded. In this context, the following suggestions are offered.

(1) Provide immediate crisis intervention and counselling when possible.
(2) Approach the victim without preconceived stereotypes of sexual assault (e.g. she must show signs of physical assault or resistance; she probably is provoked to attack). Listen to the victim non-judgementally without accusations of blame or tendencies to trivialise the crisis which could cloud issues of physical and psychological trauma.
(3) Do not avoid rape-related topics merely because they are difficult to discuss. While it is imperative that counsellors proceed with sensitivity, girls often want to talk about their problems despite shyness, embarrassment or lack of emotional control. In many instances, it is only after extensive discussions that girls will reveal their inner conflicts and confusion.[12]
(4) Be honest and answer any questions, including sexual ones, that the girls may have. Some anxieties appear centred on physical changes during puberty and concerns about sexuality. Also, help the girl put these problems in perspective, particularly if the assault involves a family member.
(5) If the child has a moral understanding of the event, discourage feelings of self-blame.
(6) Recognise the influence of mediating variables on the girls' reactions to sexualt assault. Age, family conditions, prior life stresses and nature of the assault may be important factors and should be integrated into assessment and counselling techniques.
(7) Be aware that the psychological trauma of sexual assault in childhood may re-emerge in adolescence and offer counselling accordingly.
(8) If instances of sexual assault are incestuous, offer family therapy. Remember that sexual assault is not only a crisis for the victim but also for her family.
(9) Realise that psychological reactions may be long-term. Engage natural support systems and attempt to minimise social disruption in other areas of life (e.g. schools).
(10) Remember that behaviour modification techniques may also be useful in conjunction with counselling in the treatment of some specific disorders (e.g. enuresis, phobias, acting out behaviours). These strategies have been shown to be particularly effective with children (Ross, 1974).

CONCLUSION

This paper has offered some exploratory data on sexual assault and psychological coping in adolescent victims. In short, there is no single predictable response to sexual assault. Psychological reactions are varied and appear to be influenced by mediating variables such as age, family environment and other psycho-social factors. Defense mechanisms such as denial and rationalisation were commonly employed to diminish anxiety effectively but maladaptive consequences of victimisation were also observed. Psychological disturbances such as phobias and nightmares and behavioural problems such as eneursis and acting out behaviours were documented. In response to these observations, suggestions were offered to counsellors. Finally, it is hoped that these data may provide a basis for future research.

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2. In 1981, Singapore Council of Women's Organizations (SCWO) and National Crime Prevention Council (NCPC) jointly sponsored a public forum on 'Violence against women'. In 1983, SCWO and NCPC held a forum entitled 'Violence against girls'.
3. The 1983 figures represent the total number of cases reported that year but are subject to reconfirmation and validation by the CID.
4. Sng and Ng's (1978) sample of alleged rapes includes molestation.
5. This is comparable to United States statistics which indicate that the 16–19 age group has the highest rate of victimisation (Dean and De Bruyn-Kops, 1982).
6. It must be recognised, however, that of the cases which did reach court in 1981, some may have originated from reports in 1980 or earlier on.
7. Reviewing a large number of studies, Renvoize (1982) found a range of physical abuse incidences from 11% – 60% of sexually assaulted children.
8. The author would like to thank Dr. Myrna Blake, Ms Fathiah Inserto and Ms Joyce Tan for assistance with data collection. Cases presented in this paper, however, were all interviewed by the author.
9. Time periods between sexual assault and research interviews of 11 cases varied from a few months to six years.
10. Miller *et al.* (1978) found that 24% of her sample of sexual assault victims had been previously assaulted.
11. In one instance, staff reacted with sceptism to an allegation of sexual assault because the girl's clothing was intact after the incident. Later on, when the case was reported to the police, the man pleaded guilty in court.
12. Despite the difficulty some girls experienced in discussing the sexual assaults, all indicated that they would like someone to talk to about their problems.

APPENDIX I

Case	Health and Physical	School	Home and Family	Money, Work, and the Future
HLC	Do not get enough sleep Too short for any age Often not hungry for my meals	Afraid of tests Afraid of failing Worried about marks Afraid to speak up in class Made to take subjects I do not like	Never having any fun with another or dad Unable to discuss certain problems at home Family quarrels Mother	Family worried about money Wanting to earn some money of my own Not knowing how to look for a job Wanting advice on what to do a after school Needing to know more about occupations Afraid of the future

	Boy and Girl Relationships	Relations to People in General	Self-Centred Concerns
	Keeping myself looking neat and nice	Wishing people liked me better Feelings too easily hurt Wanting to be more like other people	Afraid of making mistakes Sometimes wishing I'd never been born Not taking some things seriously enough Afraid God is going to punish me Finding it hard to talk about my troubles

Appendix 1(contd.)

	Health and Physical Development	School	Home and Family	Money, Work and the Future
CH	Do not get enough sleep Too short for my age Having poor posture Often have pains in my stomach Getting tired easily	Getting less marks in school Afraid of failing Trouble with oaths Trouble with writing Cannot keep my mind on studies Worried about marks Not smart enough So often feel restless in class Textbooks hard to understand Not interested in certain subjects	Not living with my parents Worried about someone in the family Parents not understanding us Wanting things my parents won't give me Parents not liking my friends Parents old fashioned Unable to discuss certain problems at home Mother	Spending money foolishly Having to ask parents for Family worried about money Wanting to earn some money of my own Wanting to buy more of my own Not knowing how to look for a job Wanting to know more about university Wanting to know more about trades Needing a job during vacations Afraid of the future Not knowing what I really want Wondering if I'll ever get married

Appendix 1(contd.)

Boy and Girl Relations	Relations to People in General	Self-Centred Concerns
Not allowed to go out alone Too little chance to go to parties Not knowing how to make a date Wanting to know more about boys Uncomfortable at social affairs Deciding whether I'm in love Deciding whether to go steady Keeping myself looking neat and nice Embarrassed by talk about sex	Shy Wishing people liked me better Wanting a more pleasing personality Feeling nobody understands me Missing someone very much Getting into arguments Being stubborn Hurting people's feelings No one to tell my troubles to	Failing in so many things I do Getting into trouble Trying to stop a bad habit Sometimes not being as honest as I should be Giving in to temptations Lacking self control Worrying Having bad dreams Sometimes wishing I'd never been born Being careless Being lazy Not taking some things seriously enough Feeling ashamed of something I've done Afraid God is going to punish me Cannot forget some mistakes I've made

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SYMPOSIUM IV C : Problems of Adolescents and Youths

CHAIRPERSON *Mr. Leo Kennedy*
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Drug Abuse Among Adolescents

Jaya Nagaraja

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, parents and teachers have become much more conscious of the infatuation of youth with hallucinogenic drugs. For a long while, one used to sit back and view the western youth and call them 'addicts', heaving a sigh of relief that our youth were beyond this and were more stable and responsible. We fail to realise that the day was not too far for all of us to despair. It is not easy to understand the intense interest of youths in these drugs and to determine when and how our youth become infected with the habit.

Anna Freud said that 'any youth who does not present a desire for rebellion must leave us uneasy'. This, however, is not the story of our Indian youths who have been always described as obedient, compliant to traditial norms and, in particular, home norms. If so, when did this transformation among our youth take place?

METHODOLOGY

The use of drugs has become a problem among adolescents, especially students between the ages of 14–21 years. Frequent appearance of adolescents addicted to drugs led the Department of Psychiatry, Government Hospital for Mental Care, Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh, India to conduct a survey among college going students for drug abuse. An adolescent sample of 1,000 cases was studied. The sample was drawn from metropolitan city colleges, both professional and preparatory. Of this population, 25% of the cases had come to the Hospital with florid symptoms for psychiatric intervention. About 15% lacked interest in their studies and failed their academic courses due to a steady loss of speed, accuracy and concentration. Another 8% had shown delinquent behaviour patterns, played truant, and stole money to obtain drugs. About 3% had encounters with the law.

Questionnaires and interview schedules were utilised to collect data and where possible, parents were interviewed. The cases were psychologically tested and psychiatrically evaluated. Drugs commonly used by this population was also recounted and recommendations were sent to the 'Drug Study' bureau at the national level.

DRUG ABUSE AMONG YOUTH

In Indian culture, there is considerable emphasis on prolonged education and attainment of goals which are not only prestige orientated but life orientated. Except for this, the youths are not burdened with school and family responsibilities even though they exert considerable influence on every move of theirs. This results in an unstable group of youths due to the fact that they are removed from the security of childhood and thrown into a preparatory phase for adulthood with well-defined social roles and position which youths are supposed to attain during this mid-phase of their lives. It is in this phase that youths are perplexed and in a dilemma. The secure submissive childhood is abandoned and yet another adult-conforming position which is to be attained is viewed as a second surrender, an annihilation of 'Self'. Parents, teachers and all those who stand for authority form a driving force, driving the youth towards the adult goals. The young, on the other hand, view it with skeptisism, distrust and as subjugation. They refuse to abide by the rules and tend to form new ideologies. Undoubtedly, the challenge of these youth creates considerable anxiety in the society because their attitudes and activities can be self-destructive.

In particular, social groups where puberty is of a short transitional period and children who receive adult status rapidly – they form new identifications with their elders and follow the ancestoral tradition without a long mid-period – have shown less drug abuse. However, in the sector where emphasis is on education, high-achieving goals and greater responsibility orientation, these very conditions imposed upon the youth seem to be responsible for a proliferation of drug abuse. The stress and strain of the transitional period, the search for identity, the need for conformity and recognition, lack of identity figures and the responsibility ahead of them seem to propel them into restlessness and rebellion, and drug abuse becomes the end product of these features.

The narcissism of youth is severelly taxed at this point of the developmental period and the ego ideals require readjustment which, in most cases, resent surrender to parental goals and submission to authority viewed as loss of one's self-esteem. There is a pressing need for the youth to prove to himself and especially to his peer group of his new found independence and to show that he is not submissive. Submission is viewed as a loss of self-esteem and this leads to a loss of self identity which, in turn, results in depression and a loss of security. In search of new security and identity, and to escape from depression or the condemnation and criticism of their super ego, youths take to drugs.

Youth with low ego ideals find easy rationalisation in the use of drugs which superficially alleviate the ego. Youngsters who have difficulty in impulse control and are given to swings – from exuberance to despair – search for quick solutions which most frequently involve a feeling of supremacy. This, of course, is attained rapidly with the consumption of drugs.

The idealistic youth also becomes a victim of the drug-taking habit because his super ego is too rigid to come to any compromise. Underneath this, the youth feels weak, dependent, frightened and has a need to compensate with feelings of omnipotence. The feeling of 'really being great' is secured by being dependent on drugs.

When a youth tries to assert himself against parental and social convention in the hope to achieve independence and self-esteem, he feels phobic. Challenging the rules of the adults is only a reflection of the inner feelings of weakness. To combat this weakness, insecurity and fear, they turn to the unknown, the strange feeling and the thrill arising from the taking of drugs.

Youth who are bored with life experiences, endowed with money and with time on their hands, consider the taking of risks and experiencing of thrills to become almost a hobby or an obsession and thus are entrapped in the folds of drug usage.

Gaining of pleasure and the feeling of mastery and potency is a need of every human individual. The interest of youth to have mystic experiences and depart beyond the usual urges them to indulge in the hallucinogonic drugs. A strong feeling of self assertion and superiority, together with a distinct identity over their adults who lack this experience, adds to the ego satisfaction.

The growing feeling of anti-authoritarianism increases disrespect for the law. Furthermore, the use of prohibited drugs is viewed as an act of heroism. It appears that the problem of 'youth crisis' is one of the causes of an increase in the use of drugs.

Loners and those who cannot establish a healthy interpersonal relationship are also known to have taken to drugs. The drugs create an illusion of closeness and this, in turn, gives a feeling of security and belongingness.

Youths who are neurotic prefer escape from anxiety by the use of drugs than to resolve the problem itself. Instead of confronting the alienated environment, they loose their own determination in life and succumb to drugs.

ROLE OF PARENTS

The failure on the part of many parents to take a firm stand due to the fear of causing trauma to their offsprings or the need on the part of parents to be loved leads to an inability to discipline their youngsters. This inability of parents to provide discipline or guidance to their children forms yet another factor which can cause the young to go astray. The children of such families are more likely to be provided with the luxuries of life which replace maternal and paternal love and care. Many parents who are emotionally immature themselves prefer to be ignorant of the activities of their children and consider emotional non-involvement as a shelter against their own inadequacies.

We also come across punitive and rigid parents who are unable to view things on a 'give and take basis'. They enforce ineffective rules which alternate with withdrawal of support and laxity, and often become over critical of the activities of the young.

Parents who shun their responsibilities and pass them on to grandparents or authorities in schools and other institutions unconsciously withdraw their love from discipline of the young, leaving them to their own resources. Perplexed at the crossroads, they often rely on individuals who may lead them to the road of destruction in the way of drug consumption.

An adolescent raised in an unhealthy environment becomes alienated and feels a deep sense of helplessness, isolation and humiliation. He then tries to rebel against or detach himself from such a home environment by resorting to deviant ways.

PSYCHIATRIC MANIFESTATIONS OF DRUG ADDICTION

The prolonged use of drugs leads to a variety of pathological responses, chief of which are:

(1) Memory impairment.
(2) Poor judgement.
(3) Reduced comprehension.
(4) Lack of clarity of thought.
(5) Difficulty in making decisions.
(6) Deterioration of volition.
(7) Reduced energy output and a depressed and neurotic effect.

(8) Decrease insight and decline in academic performance.
(9) Decrease in the ability to perform abstract reasoning.
(10) There is a loss of effectivenes and diminished capacity to carry out complex plans.
(11) Low tolerance.
(12) Lack of ability to master new skills.
(13) Drug induced psychosis.

SOME FACTS ABOUT DRUG USE

The average age group was between 18 to 22 (teenagers to young adults).
Prevalence of drug abuse was formed in the following proportions:

High school	6%
College	42%
Post graduate schools	18%
Medical contribution for drug abuse (in all age group)	24%

Some of the common drugs used are indicated below:

Opium	4%
Marijuana	14%
Pethidine and morphine	38%
Multiple addiction	20%
Dexedrine group	16%
Minor tranquilisers (Calmpose, hyponotex, mandrax equinal etc.)	6%

Psychiatric consultation was sought for:

Depression	23%
Maniac and boistrousnous	50%
Socially withdrawn and decline in performance	13%
Confronted with law and order – involved in accidents	2%
Antisocial and gang behaviour behaviour	7%

Type of users relate to:

Single time	31%
One to ten times' experience	15%
More than ten times habituates but not dependent	28%
Dependent on drugs (This groups does not include alcoholics for the prevalence of alcohol intake is much more in young adults than drug abuse).	26%

Types of experiences are shown below:

Happy trips (fulfilling experiences)	78%
Bad trips (toxic reactions)	22%

(This experience depends upon the strength, quality, and dose of the drug. There is no way of determining the optimal dose for any one particular individual).

In terms of sex, drug taking is prevalent among males (92%) and females (8%).

CONCLUSION

The study was conducted among the student population that attended the outpatient division of the Psychiatric Clinic and a random sample was made:

(1) Although causal mechanism could not be pinpointed, drug taking was psychopathological in origin.
(2) Socioeconomic status was not a potential factor.
(3) Gender involved was very significant when compared with their western counterparts wherein almost an equal number of girls and boys resorted to drugs.
(4) Imitation, peer recognition, mysticism, depression and frustration in life situations, inability to cope with the real world and a rebellions attitude against authority were found to be some of the factors which contributed to drug taking by youths. Parents were also found to be a contributory factor.
(5) It is noted that the frequency and types of drugs used have increased in recent years. Moreover, it is found that none of these drugs are very safe. Drug-related admission to the inpatient psychiatric unit was also noted to be on the increase.
(6) Evidence suggests that drug usage and addiction is a common pathway for a variety of disorders and they present a multitude of symptom patterns, each with a unique cause and response sequence.
(7) A relation between psychological status and other problems were established in all of the cases, supporting and highlighting the importance of psychogenic factors in drug usage.
(8) That 'most youth make use of the first part of their life to render the last part miserable' seems to be the keynote of the youth of today.

Factors Contributing to Drug Addiction Among Youths: a Case Study of Twelve Inmates at a Drug Rehabilitation Centre

Chandraseagran Suppiah

INTRODUCTION

The causes of drug addiction among youths have been extensively researched in countires like the United States of America and England. They have been able to identify various psycho-social factors that contribute to drug addiction among youths. However, these factors cannot be generalised to all cases of drug addiction (Weiner, 1970). This is because youths abuse drugs for many different reasons under different circumstances and conditions. The research findings in the United States of America and England may not be true of Malaysia as evidenced by the many differences in the research findings between the United States of America and England (Weiner, 1970).

In Malaysia, the considerable amount of research done have been able to identify various psycho-social factors contributing to drug addiction among youths. However, identification of these factors by quantitative methods may not fully explain why an individual becomes an addict. It is felt that there is a need for qualitative studies, in particular, to ascertain how the various factors interact and reinforce one another in different circumstances and conditions in the process of leading an individual to eventual addiction.

Therefore, the main concern of this study is to identify the major factors that contribute to drug addiction and how these factors interact and reinforce one another. For this purpose, each subject has to be investigated and analysed individually. This study also attempts to ascertain if there is any common pattern among the subjects studied.

SAMPLE

Twelve male inmates from the Kuala Kubu Bahru Drug Rehabilitation Centre were selected as the sample for this study. Race and age were used as criteria for the selection. Four Malays, Chinese and Indians within the age range of 15 to 25 years were selected. However, all those selected volunteered to participate in this study.

Procedure

The data for this study was obtained from:

(1) partially structured informal interviews and conversation;
(2) confidential records and
(3) personal observation.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Due to the limitations of time and space, it is not possible to analyse the findings of each case in detail. Thus only the summary of the findings are reported in this paper.

An analysis of the twelve cases reveals that several factors are responsible for addiction. These factors are the family group, drug prone environments,availability of drugs, curiosity and emotional problems (see Table 1).

Factors Contributing to Drug Addiction in the Different Racial Groups

The absence of a father figure in the family was found to be common among the four Malay subjects. Friends and the availability of drugs appeared to be another common factor among these four Malay addicts. These were friends at work, in the neighbourhood and school, and who were roommates. Curiosity as a factor was found in only two of the four cases. Emotional problems and a drug prone environment were found in one case each.

Among the four Chinese drug addicts studied, the family, peer group and availability of drugs were found to be common in all the four cases. Unlike the Malay cases, it was not possible to pin-point a single common factor within the Chinses family. Father absence was found in only two cases while two other cases were concerned with mothers. In one of the cases, the subject had problems with his stepmother while in another, the subject had severe emotional problems due to his mother. Peers in the form of cousins were found to be important in two of the cases. Friends in the working environment and in the school were also found to be responsible for exposing and initiating drug abuse in three of the cases.

Four common factors could be identified with the Indian drug addicts. They were the family, peer group, availability of drugs and a drug prone environment. Among the Indians, the lack of parental control and poor role model provided by the fathers appeared to be the more important factor than just father absence. This is because father absence was found in one of the cases only. Alcholic fathers were found in two of the cases. Peers comprised of friends in the neighbourhood and friends at work. Curiosity among the Indians was more common than the other two factors since in three of the four cases, the subjects were initiated to drugs through curiosity. Emotional problems were identified in two of the cases.

An analysis of the factors contributing to drug addiction among the three races indicates some similarities and differences. Among family members, fathers appeared to play an important role in preventing youth from becoming drug addicts. Father absence was found to be the common factor in all of the Malay cases, two in the Chinese and one in the Indians. Though only one case of father absence was found among the Indians, lack of father's involvement in disciplining the subjects concerned and poor role-model were found in three cases out of the four. Among the Chinese, inadequate supervision and care by the fathers could be attributed in three of the cases. A close father-son relationship was found in only one of the Chinese subjects. In this case, the absence of the mother could be responsible for the subject's emotional problems and his resort to drugs for solace. Generally, in all the twelve cases, mothers seemed to play a less important role in contributing to drug addiction. This is because mother absence and inability to get along with the mother were found only in four of the cases. The Indians seemed to be very susceptible to a drug prone environment and peer influence.

Major Factors Contributing to Drug Addiction

At first glance, there appears to be many factors contributing to drug addiction. However, a closer examination shows that these factors can be grouped into two major categories. These are exposure to drugs and the family.

Exposure to Drugs

Exposure to drugs can take place through various means such as the peers, availability of drugs and a drug prone environment. Often, these three means of exposure do not act in isolation for they tend to interact with one another. When they interact, they reinforce each other and thus pose a powerful force that often lead to involvement in drugs.

Friends and relatives played an important role. They appeared to be the first of the factors to expose drugs to others as well as to make drugs easily available. The friends in the school were only found in two of the cases and they introduced *ganja* to the subjects. Friends in the neighbourhood and in the working environment seemed to have greater influence over the subjects, especially in the introduction of heroin.

The role of the friends in the neighbourhood can be seen in two ways. Firstly, they were important in exposing and making drugs readily available as well as in tempting them into drug abuse. Secondly, they also

Table 1
Factors Contributing to Drug Addiction

Cases	Factors					
	Family	**Emotional Problems**	**Peer Group**	**Availability of Drugs**	**Curiosity**	**Drug Prone Environment**
	Malay Subjects					
1	Father-two wives. Absence of a father.	Loneliness and frustration due to separation from a girl.	Friends in the working environment	–	–	–
2	Absence of parents due to parental rejection.	–	School friends. Friends in the working environment.	–	–	–
3	A lack of parental control. Absence of father.	–	Roommates.	–	–	–
4	Father's absence. Brother is a drug addict.	–	Neighbourhood friends.	–	–	–

Table 1 (contd.)

	Chinese Subjects					
5	Father's absence. Father is authoritarian. Brothers – alcoholic, gambling problems.	Problems with parents and brother over his girl friend.	Cousin brother.	–	–	–
6	Lack of parental control. Father absent for long period.	–	Friends in the working environment.	–	–	–
7	Father is an alcoholic. Mother's absence. Problems with stepmother.	Failure in love.	School friends. Friends in the working environment.	–	–	–
8	Severe problems with his mother.	Failure in love.	Cousin brother. School friends.	–	–	–

Table 1 (contd.)

	Indian Subjects					
9	Lack of parental control. Mother's absence. Sibling rivalry.	Instability due to mother's death. Fear of the future.	Neighbourhood friends.	–	–	–
10	Father is an alcoholic. Brother is a drug addict. Lack of parental control.	–	Neighbourhood friends.	–	–	–
11	Lack of parental control. Father is an alcoholic.	–	Neighbourhood friends. Friends in the working environment.	–	–	–
12	Absence of parents. Absence of a home.	Problems related to love affair. Being labelled as a thief and drug addict. Without a home.	Friends in the working environment.	–	–	–

provided a drug prone environment so that the children who grew up in such an environment became familiar with drug abuse.

Peers are not only important in initiating drug abuse but also important in the subjects continued involvement in drugs. In five out of the twelve cases, the peers acted as a constant source of temptation on subjects who wanted to give up the drug habit. Everytime they came into contact with peers who were already seriously involved in drugs, they were tempted to consume drugs again.

Many local studies have identified peer group as one of the major factors contributing to drug addiction (Chee, 1973; Navaratnam and Spencer, 1976; Yadav, 1977). However, they did not identify the type of peers and their specific roles. They emphasised the role of the peer group in initiating drug use but did not indicate the part played by them in continued involvement in drugs. The findings of this study indicated that peers do not function as initiating agents only but also serve as suppliers and reinforcing agents.

It is easy to become involved with drugs if they are readily available. The easier the availability of drugs, the greater is the possibility that more youths will be exposed and exposure may lead to experimentation. The easy availability of drugs may also be responsible in the subjects' continued involvement in drugs and may prevent addicts from attempts to overcome this habit. For example, two of the subjects were off drugs when they were unavailable. However, their drug-taking habit was resumed when drugs became easily available. Generally, all the subjects indicated that drugs were easily available in Malaysia. Shortages were experienced during certain periods and even then, shortage occurred only in certain types of drugs.

Constant exposure to drugs through peers, availability of drugs and a drug prone environment may arouse an individual's curiosity to experiment with drugs. Local research findings by Yadav (1977), Nawi (1978) and Spencer and Navaratnam (1981) idendified curiosity as a factor although attempts were not made to relate it to the exposure of drugs. Curiosity may not occur in siolation for it is closely related to exposure to drugs. The findings of this study showed that in all of the six cases, curiosity was aroused when the subjects witnessed the consumption of drugs by peers or were shown how to enjoy them.

Although this study has identified exposure to drugs as the most important factor leading to drug addiction, it is important to note that exposure to drugs through peers, availability of drugs, and a drug prone environment may not dispose a person towards drug addiction if other factors are absent. Among the other factors, the family of the drug addict plays a dominant role. This is because the family is the basic agent of socialisation and an important source for the healthy development of the individual.

Family

Family was found to be a factor responsible for the subjects' submission to the temptation and their inability to 'kick off' the drug habit. Of all the members in the family, the father seemed to play the most important role. All cases pointed to the inadequate supervision given by the fathers to their sons, lack of discipline and control, and inadequate role-model as important probable contributing factors to drug addiction.

The mother played a less important role in that they were related to the subjects' eventual addiction in four cases only. The analysis shows that the addicts lacked mother's love and emotional support. The lack of mother's love and care was also brought about by the death of one's mother or through the neglect of one's natural mother.

Generally, the addicts came from families where there was a lack of closeness and love among the siblings. In a few cases, the siblings were also poor models as they were either alcoholics, gamblers or drug addicts. Consequently, these subjects felt neglected and unwanted, unloved and alone. When they encountered emotional problems, they were unable to handle them. In addition, they did not have the kind of family that gave them the moral and emotional support during periods of emotional crisis.

This study has revealed the specific roles played by various members of the family. It clearly indicated that the father was the most important member of the family in contributing to eventual drug addiction among the subjects studied.

CONCLUSION

The study has identified some of the major factors that led to drug addiction among twelve male youths. Exposure to drugs and the family were two of the most important factors identified. Although they are important facotrs, they do not, however, operate in isolation. Various factors usually operate together and reinforce one another. Exposure to drugs does not necessarily lead to drug addiction. Continuous exposure to drugs may lead an individual to experiment with drugs but may not necessarily lead to drug addiction. Usually, it is a series of successive events which interact and reinforce each other and eventually culminates in drug addiction. No case histories are the same and each case can be unique. Stereotyping and labelling should be avoided as far as possible. Generalising the contributing factors to drug addiction of youths to the population of drug addicts may limit our understanding of the problem. Consequently, preventive or rehabilitation programmes may meet with limited success.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There is a need to carry out replicative studies of this nature on a more extensive scale so as to obtain a more representative sample of drug addicts so that if any generalisations are made, they will be more valid and reliable. Studies of this nature are useful because data obtained by survey methods do not indicate the complexity of the problem, especially the interaction between the various contributing factors. Research efforts should be focussed on the exposure to drugs and the role of the family in contributing to drug addiction among youths. Similar studies should be carried out using female subjects as this study was only confined to male addicts.

Ethnographic studies should also be carried out to understand and further clarify the exact nature and impact of the drug sub-culture in rehabilitation centres and in drug prone and working environments. The outcome of such research findings will add new dimensions to existing studies and further our understanding of drug addiction. By dealing with the problem from various perspectives, we may be able to find a more effective solution to the drug problem.

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Paper IV

Main Theme

Adolescent and Technological Changes

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Educating the Adolescent for Technological Changes: Some Implications for Teaching

Lau Kam Cheong

INTRODUCTION

At any point in time, every society has a substantial proportion of its members who are in that seemingly troublesome and difficult period of human development which we call adolescence. As working adults, we have all gone through this period of life which, according to psychologists, lies between the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood. The individuals who are undergoing this transition period of biological and social change are referred to as adolescents. For the fortunate ones who are endowed with ability or who have received proper parental care and guidance, this difficult period may be a relatively short one of about four to five years before they emerge as adults to take up a job or profession. Those with less parental care may have to fumble around for about ten to twenty years before they can adjust to the demands and requirements of the adult world. For the unfortunate majority who are neglected and confused, the problems they face as adults will seem endless. In trying to find quick and easy solutions to their problems, many will in turn create serious problems for society. The schools which they had attended have somehow failed to equip them with the essential skills to become useful members of society.

The attainment of adulthood with its responsibilities may come about simply and easily to some youth in our society but judging from the large number of unskilled school leavers who become juvenile delinquents, it is obvious that growing up to be a useful and responsible adult in society is not an easy process.

STRUGGLE FOR ADULTHOOD

The struggle for adulthood for most people is a struggle for vocational and economic independence. It is a struggle for work. Work is a natural activity of man and his life will be inconceivable without it. In work, he satisfies his sense of accomplishment, expresses himself and fulfills his aspiration. Without meaningful work, man exposes himself to crime and evil. If the adolescent is unable to secure a job when he leaves school, it is very likely that his adult life will be one of misery.

In the job markets of modern society, vocational skills and work conditions are changing very rapidly as new technologies are introduced to enhance efficiency and productivity. The adolescent will not be able to attain vocational and economic independence when he reaches adulthood unless he is receptive and is prepared to learn how to handle new techniques, procedures, tools and machines which he has never heard of or seen before. Unesco has published numerous reports and articles highlighting the plight of the hundres of thousands of young men and women in our large cities who have either dropped out of high school or have completed it without learning any saleable skills. Without a definite skill of some kind, the adolescent leaving school is very unlikely to obtain employment to support himself. To survive, he must continue to rely on his parents for support. If he is fortunate, he may be able to find some part-time or temporary work but this will not enable him to earn enough to maintain himself, let alone a family. If he is unable to seek support from his family or obtain relief from even some form of unstable employment, he will likely turn to crime. Crime is rampant partly because many young adults are unable to achieve vocational and economic independence.

The problems confronting many young adults will become more serious and complicated as new advances are being achieved through science and technology. Technological developments will bring about more efficient forms of automation and computerisation. These advances will affect the structure and composition of employment. While job opportunities for certain occupational and technical skills related to the new technological advances will increase, many existing jobs will become redundant. There may also be a relocation of employment opportunities. For those who are untrained or who are unable to learn and accommodate the new demands and requirements, the consequence they have to face can be pathetic as technological change will have the greatest negative impact on those young adults who are unskilled or semi-skilled. Technological innovations have created new work-styles which demand workers to acquire new skills. Unless the adolescent is receptive to change and is prepared to learn new skills, he will end up a loser.

TECHNOLOGICAL PROMISES AND THREATS

If society is to progress, it is unwise to curb the advances of technology. Some countries had, in the past, attempted to retard the advances of technology so that more jobs might be available for the unskilled and semi-skilled. As a consequence, these countries were unable to progress technologically and their economy suffered. The people, as a whole, had to endure hardships and a declining standard of living because there were serious shortages in the various sectors of the economy. If we examine the history of man, we will, in fact, realise that technology is indispensable to man's survival. Man, being a curious animal, is always learning about the world and changing it through science and technology to suit himself. Man, as we know him today, would not have survived and evolved to what he is today without tools and machines, the discovery and exploitation of materials such as stone, wood, iron and others, fuel and energy, and mechanisation, automation and computerisation. Technology, viewed as the application of scientific knowledge to serve man, has contributed to the growth and development in practically every aspect of man's advancement.

The literature on technological change and its effects is both exciting and frightening. On the exciting side, the literature describes the capabilities of technological advances as being unlimited and hold infinite promise for mankind. Technology has been dubbed as the most potent agent for progress and advancement as it has given man machines to free him from having to behave like a machine. It created an upheaval about two centuries ago during the period referred to as the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution took man from the field and put him into the factory. It brought about mass production and thus made available items of commodity that were considered luxurious to the common man. The creation of machine emancipated man from hard labour and created a completely new environment for mankind. The advancement of man through science and technology since the industrial revolution has been impressive as the benefits derived from achievements in the fields of agriculture, communications, engineering, medicine and so forth are enormous. More efficient transport systems, reduction of hunger, alleviation of diseases and prolongation of life are but only some examples of the many benefits gained.

With the advent of micro-electronics today, a tremendous portal is swinging open. The technology of micro-electronics has brought us the modern and sophisticated computer, automated robot and communication satellite. These new technologies are influencing the way we handle information and other machines so that we can use them to whatever ends we want. With this advancement, man has reasons to be excited because he is beginning to unlock other doors leading to an even more fascinating world.

The benefits man has derived from technology are great but at the same time, he must also recognise the fact that technological progress has also many adverse side-effects. Many sociologists are quick to point out the frightening side of technological advancement. Although the innovations of technology have improved the quality and tempo of life, they have also brought all kinds of new problems to the fore. The incredible toll of human life on our highways, for example, is the result of the invention of the motor car and mass production has resulted in the alienation of man from himself on the assembly line. The abuse of technology by man has brought about the awesome threat of the destruction of man by nuclear weapons and the global pollution of the land, water and atmosphere of the earth. This is the frightening part of what is before us. The loss of jobs, the inability to seek employment, the assignment of self-pity by the individual to himself, the sweeping away of self-respect and the need to live on a minimum budget or the need to scrounge for food and shelter – all these intensify the fear.

Sociologists have also associated the cause of the many social ills of today's youth with technology. Major social problems such as rapid job turnover, alcoholism, drug addiction, excessive smoking, sense of insecurity, nervous breakdown, lack of interest, apathy, aversion and many seemingly insurmountable barriers to learning have been attributed directly or indirectly to the inability of adolescents to cope with the rapidity of technological change. With all these frightening problems threatening society today, it is not difficult to understand why so many scholars are blaming technology for having made our modern youth worse off and more difficult to handle than their counterparts in the previous generations.

EFFECTS OF TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES

To guide and direct our thinking towards how the school can better educate the adolescent for adulthood, it is crucial that we understand the pervasive effects of technological advances. Of the many ways science and technology have influenced society, there are four main effects that have direct implications on the education of adolescents. These are the accelerated growth of knowledge, the rapidity of change, the displacement of job opportunities, and the deterioration of human relations.

Accelerated Growth of Knowledge

Vast amounts of scientific and technical knowledge are being published every year. The Library of Congress has estimated that there are approximately 40,000 scientific and technical journals being published throughout the world today. Estimating on an average of 50 articles per journal per year, we are faced with some 2,000,000 scientific articles published throughout the world each year. At this rate of growth, the total amount of recorded knowledge will double in about every seven to ten years. Man's knowledge in science and technology is advancing so rapidly today that many new technologies confront him before he has fully understood past achievements. Keeping abreast of developments will require effective learning skills to retrieve information rapidly and the ability to discriminate between its relevance or irrelevance. No amount of teaching will be sufficiently adequate to enable a person to master everything he needs to know about a particular subject.

Rapidity of Change

The process of change in society is continual. Technological change is therefore not a new phenomenon but what is new is the sweeping pace at which this change is taking place. It has been said that the everyday life of the average man has changed more in the last 65 years than in the 2,000 years before. This rapid change is connected with the growth of modern technology. Being an incredibly powerful revolutionary force, technology has influenced profoundly new developments in production, transportation, occupational trends, leisure, centralisation, specialisation, customs and beliefs, moral and aesthetic sensitivities and even national policies. The changes that result from these new developments are reshaping our lifestyle and life-orientation at incredible speed today. For example, a man 50 years old today, born in an age when horses and bullock carts were still in fashion, may live to see the beginning of interplanetary travel and the emergence of 'thinking' computers. He has watched the development of motor cars, aeroplanes and remote control vehicles and the growth of radio, television and communication satellites. Furthermore, he has seen electricity replacing coal and steel, and now he sees atomic and solar energy beginning to replace fossil energy itself. The rate of change is very great indeed. Many office machines, for example, manufactured only two or three years ago, are now being replaced by smaller and more efficient ones. Changes come rapidly and each day brings new discoveries.

There is no question whatsoever that technology will continue to change our society. It is not difficult to envisage the adolescent as a productive citizen in the year 2,000 being employed only on a four-day week. He will be able to travel to the furthest part of the world in a few hours at minimum cost. His inexpensive clothing, made of synthetic fibres, will be disposable. Away from home, he will communicate with his family and friends by a wrist-watch transmitter and receiver. At his desk or from the public phone booth, his telephone call will be visual as well as aural. The library where he seeks knowledge will be a central information retrieval centre. He will get the reading materials he wants at home through his video display terminal. If he is tired of reading, there is the wall-size television receiver to entertain him not only in colour but also in three dimensions. His world will use fuel-cells as a form of portable electric power. Solar energy will be available. Nuclear power will be safe to use for a wide variety of purposes including space travel. The incredible laser beam will have opened up new fields of knowledge and will be widely applied. Communication satellites will operate for 24 hours a day and no part of the world will ever be isolated again. The oceans will be farmed and their bottoms mined. Micro-organisms will be used widely in industry. The DNA of genes will have begun to yield its secrets for the production of high-yielding farm animals and crops.

As we cannot actually see what is around the corner, this futuristic scenario may seem to be a fantasy. However, the signs of its beginning are all around us. Although not available for sale presently, items such as the wall-size colour three dimension television receiver and the videophone are already a reality. Every breakthrough in science generates still another series of discoveries and as each of these is put into practical use, society is required to adjust itself accordingly. To cope with the rapidity of change, the adolescent of today must be educationally prepared to change their way of looking at the world. The forces of technological change is at the heart of his life. He must learn to understand and live with these forces if he is to survive. Adaptation for survival in this rapidly changing world depends on how the school has developed his rational thinking and reasoning power to conform to the many changes that will confront him.

Displacement of Job Opportunity

There was a time when a young person entering the labour force without a skill and with little education could have a fair chance of achieving an adequate economic life. Today, the odds are against him. Occupationally unskilled jobs are declining in importance because technology has liberated man for more efficient use of the human mind and to free him from the bonds of mindless toil. Mechanical means will, more and more, replace human muscles. There will obviously be fewer and fewer jobs for the unskilled and the semi-skilled. Technological change is therefore highly threatening to the job security of the uneducated and the unskilled. By reducing the need for unskilled workers, technology will change the basic pattern of employment by eliminating jobs in some areas and creating new ones in others. For example, thousands of blacksmiths and carriage repairmen were replaced by motor mechanics when motor vehicles became the dominant mode of transport. Today, workers in the service industries outnumber those in the production industries, and white-collar workers are far more numerous than blue-collar workers. Demand is definitely expanding in the professional, technical and service occupations. In the future, it will not be enough even to possess a skill if the skill is not widely needed. Schools may have to change their role to become centres for continuing education and training. We need continuing education and training to prepare our youth not only to operate the instruments of technology but also to prepare them for the changing occupational patterns which technology has thrust upon us. In order to find useful work in life, young adults have to be retrained to upgrade their skills even though they have completed their formal school education. If they are left alone, their skills will soon become obsolete and they will be considered redundant. It is quite obvious that the man with little skill will have difficulty in finding a job to become economically independent.

Deterioration of Human Relations

The rapid pace of technological change has also created conditions that tend to bring about a sense of insecurity in individuals. Specialisation and division of labour, for example, have made people more interdependent but because uncertainty and disorder in society affect the balance of interdependence, the sense of personal insecurity becomes accentuated. Despite mutual needs, the tempo of life is one of every man for himself. As job activities become more competitive, individuals will also become more estranged from one another. Sociologists have observed that in major urban areas, lifelong neighbourhood relationship is already a thing of the past and voluntary service to others and to the community is becoming more and more scarce. If this trend continues, the sense of belonging to a particular community will not be experienced by many people and dealings between individuals will be formal and impersonal.

Society today is beset with all kinds of illnesses involving a breakdown of human relations. The daily press is saturated with reports about delinquency, crime, cultural intolerance and moral decay, and communal and international strife. When the adolescent enters the world of adults, he must have the emotional and mental maturity to strive for a better and more stable society. It is therefore not enough for the school to prepare him to acquire new knowledge and skills to cope with change but also help him develop a strong sense of social responsibility and civic-mindedness so that he will be able to discharge his obligations as a member of society.

In view of the great consequences technology has on society, it is crucial that the adolescent should be educated in terms of his future needs. The curriculum of secondary schools has to be redesigned to help the adolescent acquire necessary skills and knowledge to ensure gainful employment and improvement of the quality of his adult life. In order to help him keep pace with the ever expanding volume of knowledge, his school must help him learn to sustain learning on his own. To cope with the rapid developments in science and technology, he needs to be able to adapt and conform to change. In addition, his school must foster the development of a positive attitude towards work and social responsibility to help him meet the socio-economic demands of his society. Our schools have produced many educated misfits for society. This is because we, as educators, are unable to design future-oriented school curricula. We have not been able to direct our effort to prepare them as future adults for self-learning, change, work and living. Consequently, when they leave school to meet the challenges of their adult world, many are unable to lead a stable life.

EDUCATIONAL INADEQUACIES

Probably, nowhere else does technology present greater problems than in the education and preparation of the adolescent for adulthood. Although technology has contributed much through television and other forms of mass media to make the present generation of modern youth more knowledgeable than the youth of the previous generations, the numerous changes it has brought about in nearly every area of human endeavour will generate an environment that is so competitive and complex that even those who are educated will find their level of competence seriously challenged in their adult years.

If we examine the technology changes that are taking place today vis-a-vis the existing curricula of secondary schools, it is not difficult to understand why relatively few people are sufficiently well equipped to face the conditions and vicissitudes of the present day world. The demands of modernisation and technological growth have brought about the spread of automation and the use of industrial robots, and yet much of what we teach the adolescent in school is irrelevant to this development. If we were to conduct a survey and question unemployed young adults on the relationship between their school education and their present jobless situation, it would not be surprising to find that they could not relate school to job in a meaningful way. This is because the schools they attended had not taught them anything on how they might be living in the future. When they left school, they had not the slightest idea of what they were going to be or where they would be going. To some degree, it would be true that for this group of young adults, our schools have not equipped them with adequate learning, vocational and social skills, and a sense of the future.

Under the existing education systems in most countries of the world, areas of subject matter are identified and rigorously prescribed for the teacher. Pedagogical practices in terms of content organisation, presentation and evaluation are designed to cover and inculcate a specific body of the subject matter prescribed. Vertically, each grade level specifies the content to be taught by the teacher. Horizontally within each grade, instruction is departmentalised on the basis of subjects such as history, geography, science, mathematics and so forth. Teaching is mainly concerned with imparting knowledge and mastering of the subject matter by students. Learning skills are seldom taken into consideration. It is assumed that students naturally know how to learn the prescribed materials covered by the teacher. Techniques of gathering, analysing, synthesising, organising, remembering and using information, for example, are somewhat neglected.

The rapid growth of knowledge, commonly referred to as the knowledge explosion, is probably the most important single factor in forcing curricular reforms in today's schools. In almost every exercise of curriculum revision, we tend to add more content areas than we remove. Knowledge, however, is not static and many areas of knowledge become obsolete within a decade or so. For a given body of knowledge, we can expect radical reorganisation not once in the coming century but several times at intervals of ten to twenty years. As a result of this information revolution, so much has to be learnt in so many areas that it is not realistic for the adolescent to learn even the summaries of existing knowledge. The sheer volume of information in a given subject area defeats any effort to teach it as a body of facts. Instruction, in terms of knowledge transmission, should not be over concerned with the amount of knowledge to be imparted as with the lack of understanding of what is transmitted.

In view of the inadequacies of existing school systems, it is therefore pertinent to ask:

> What kind of general education must the adolescent acquire for successful living?
> What training should he receive in order to make him pliable, adaptable and trainable to meet the fluctuating job demands in society?

Education, as a means of preparing the adolescent for change, requires a very different pedagogical emphasis. Instructional activities should centre more on learning and understanding and less on the quantity of information taught. Instead of focusing on knowledge *per se*, pedagogical practices should be reoriented to focus on ways of knowing, thinking and dealing with concepts, phenomena and events. The teacher should not view the learning of subject matter by students as an end in itself. While it is true that instruction cannot be devoid of content, the teacher should utilise content as a means for the adolescent to learn how to learn, to adapt to change, to be versatile in different areas of vocational skills and to develop a favourable disposition for social responsibility.

LEARNING TO LEARN

Without the drive and the ability to sustain self-learning, a person cannot seek the knowledge he needs to progress and contribute to the development of society. An important educational task of teachers in secondary schools is to be able to motivate the adolescent to sharpen his learning skills. The following pedagogical principles, when skilfully applied, would help a teacher to accomplish this task.

Provide Only Basic Concepts and Broad Principles

Since the main intention of the teacher is to help his student acquire learning skills, it is not necessary for him to cramp his lesson with factual content. In fact, a lesson that is overloaded with specific facts and information will only confuse rather than help learning. If the basic concepts and principles for a given topic are well structured and explained, understanding will be facilitated as the student can better perceive the forest for the trees. Rather than giving the student a mass of detailed content, it is more important to guide him to look up and acquire the relevant facts and information for himself. Emphasis should be placed on the analysis, synthesis and organisation of information for clarity of understanding.

Motivate to Arouse Interest and Involvement

If self-learning is to be sustained on the part of the adolescent student, he needs to be stimulated. Motivational techniques such as reinforcement, novelty, curiosity, arousal, excitement, recognition and reward are required to stimulate and arouse interest so that he is prepared to get involved and learn what is relevant. Admittedly, it is not easy to motivate people to learn. However, psychologists have advised that the adolescent in school will be motivated to learn more readily if he

(1) knows what the teacher has to offer and the context under which instruction is carried out;
(2) sees the value and significance in what he is asked to learn;
(3) perceives the new learning tasks pursued as realistic and attainable within his ability;
(4) is exposed to novel ideas and materials that are related to his existing knowledge and interests; and
(5) perceives the instructional environment as warm, friendly, encouraging and rewarding.

Encourage the Trying Out of New Ideas

Learning will become more challenging and meaningful to the adolescent student if he is provided with opportunities to find things out for himself. The development of a questioning and searching attitude on the part of the adolescent is conducive to his learning to learn. The process of active searching and inquiring can be facilitated by the teacher who encourages him to raise questions and guides him to find his own answers.

Provide for Independent Study

In learning to learn, one has to be determined, responsible and self-indulgent. These qualities need to be developed in the adolescent student. No teacher, however efficient, can study on behalf of his student. However, what he can do is to advise his student and provide him with the necessary skills to carry out independent study on his own. It is therefore important that the adolescent student should acquire skills pertaining to the utilisation of library and other resource materials since the bulk of knowledge is stored in the form of books. Besides study skills, the teacher also has to help his student cultivate self-study habits. This can be achieved by providing time for independent study during school hours. By scheduling time for independent study, the teacher is creating a learning situation in the school which allows for the development of learning competencies through direct personal involvement and interactions with others when needed. In an ideal independent study situation, the student is free from constant supervision. He reads, writes, contemplates, reflects, listens, experiments, examines, analyses, investigates, questions, discovers and discusses.

Encourage Self-Evaluation

For continued improvement in learning, it is essential that the adolescent student should be able to recognise and correct his own errors and identify the progress he has made. To help the student evaluate his own learning, he has to be shown how to check and verify information. If self-learning is to be sustained, the student should not be totally dependent on his teacher for the feedback and reinforcement of correct responses. Dictionaries, atlases, maps, encyclopaedias and other simple reference materials should be made available to him for checking factual information. His ability to locate and check sources of facts will enable him to monitor his own learning progress and to decide for himself which facts or concepts are important.

ADAPTING TO CHANGE

In educating the adolescent student to be adaptable to technological change, the central task is to teach him to accept scientific thoughts and to think functionally and rationally. Adaptability requires people to utilise their knowledge to understand directions and to accomplish a purpose, that is, to solve problems or to devise new ways to cope with them. As technology becomes more complex and specialised, the pace of change will quicken and the problems of society will be more demanding. Consequently, the need for functional and clear thinking in man will become even more crucial. The adolescent's thinking ability has to be developed so that his thought processes will function systematically and rationally to enable him to distinguish critically the extraneous from the pertinent, the misleading from the indicative, and the distortion from the truth. In order to develop his thinking ability, the adolescent needs to be trained in the skills of thinking and problem-solving. He must be trained to think not only on the 'how' but also the 'why' of doing things. He should be trained not only to apply knowledge but also to innovate and create.

Thinking is necessary for solving problems, be it creative, divergent, convergent, critical or reflective. Frequent practice in problem-identification and problem-solving is essential if thinking is to be improved. The task of instruction therefore requires the teacher to emphasise modes of decision-making and problem-solving such as the identification of problems, gathering of relevant information required, formulation and testing of tentative conclusions, and the evaluation and selection of the best alternative. Thus, the following pedagogical activities may be considered for facilitating the teaching of problem-solving skills:

(1) formulate solvable problems within the capability of the student;
(2) describe to the student the terminal performance which constitutes the solution of the problem so that he can work out the specific steps involved for himself;
(3) assess the student's entry behaviour for the concepts and principles he will require in the solution of the problem;
(4) assist the student in stating and delimiting the problem;
(5) invoke the recall of relevant concepts and principles;
(6) guide and assist the students in gathering and processing information;
(7) encourage the stating and testing of hypotheses; and
(8) assess the adequacy of student learning in solving the given problem.

Creativity and its development are also important if the adolescent is to be adequately prepared for adaptation to change. Every adolescent has some creativity in some areas. A teacher should identify the creative talent of his adolescent student and give it special attention. Creativity is a form of problem-solving. In the classroom context, it may be viewed as higher order problem-solving involving imaginative thinking. It therefore requires additional instructional support besides those suggested for functional problem-solving and decision-making situations. To foster creativity is to help the adolescent think more imaginatively, and the teacher may accomplish this by encouraging imaginative and creative expressions in many forms of media and a divergent approach to problem-solving. He should provide time for creative expressions for the development and application of problem-solving skills, keep a watchful eye on the creative achievements of the student and provide rewards to reinforce them accordingly.

CULTIVATING WORK RESPONSIBILITY

Due to the heavy emphasis placed on the teaching of academic content, many schools have neglected the education of the adolescent for work. In an age where technology is changing rapidly occupational trends, there is an urgent need for the adolescent to be exposed to a variety of job situations so that he will be able to cultivate a responsible attitude towards work. Such work exposure will also enhance his versatility to learn and relearn new jobs so as to become vocationally competent.

To prepare the adolescent for the adult world of work, the school can introduce activities that will provide actual work experience on a scaled-down basis during the vacation. Short attachments of about three weeks to a month to the various local factories, workshops, farms and other forms of services and occupations during school vacations are desirable for character building and the inculcation of work responsibility. Character-building qualities for hard work cannot be developed overnight. Gradual work exposure is essential for the adolescent to identify his vocational interest and adjust himself to fit his new station of adult life when he leaves school to join the working community.

The adolescent who cannot cope with academic learning in school is generally anxious to work. Being academically less inclined, school work to him is meaningless and irrelevant unless we can meet his desire to work while still in school. By simply keeping him in school to acquire abstract book knowledge will only frustrate him and intensify his dislike for school. For him, work experience and work-related education, programmes on modern industrial arts, practical engineering, agriculture and health services should be made available to students in secondary schools. These programmes would be based on the needs of modern day living with lessons in selecting, buying and using consumer goods. The curricula involved should expose students to the use of tools, instruments and machines, and orientate them to a world of mass production and industrial operation, systems organisation, innovation and automation. A school with such training programmes would be in a better position to educate the adolescent as a future worker, consumer, parent and taxpayer. Although some of the skills he learns today will become obsolete in his adult working life, such work-oriented programmes will make him more trainable. He will be better prepared for retraining, relearning and job upgrading. His capacity to adapt to changing occupational patterns will therefore be increased. In view of the declining employment prospects for labourers, farmhands, handymen and other relatively unskilled workers at the bottom of the job ladder, it is imperative that programmes of work-oriented education should be available to the adolescent. If he is to appreciate the importance, value and satisfaction of holding a job for self-support, the school must provide the practical training and work experience for him to acquire saleable skills.

INCULCATING SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

To counter the effect of deteriorating human relations, the education of adolescents should also focus attention on the inculcation of social responsibility. While time limitation and other curricular constraints may not permit the teaching of human relations and social responsibility as a separate subject, teachers must make use of every opportunity available in whatever instructional situation to help the adolescent improve his self-concept and develop proper social deportment, a sense of impartiality and civic consciousness. Without these attributes, the adolescent will find it difficult to learn to get along and work with people in an adult world where co-operation and teamwork are essential to human progress.

Self-Concept

It is a truism that when a person hates himself, it is likely that he will also dislike other people. If he thinks well of himself, he is more likely to contribute his effort to assist others who, in one way or another, are different from him. There is, thus, a need to encourage the adolescent in school to cultivate a postive self-concept so that he will be better able to associate with others. Teachers who frequently criticise the adolescent for his shortcomings are unlikely to help him cultivate a positive self-concept.

Social Department

Genuine and amiable relationships between people can be more readily established if there is mutual give-and-take as well as respect for each other. Since the problems of winning friends and maintaining friendship are encountered in all stages of adult life, it is crucial that proprieties of social deportment such as courtesy, respect, humility and so forth are instilled in the adolescent while he is still in school. From the standpoint of effective living, tact and the related skills of social deportment are as essential as the fundamental cognitive skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. If the adolescent is to win the trust and respect of others in his adult life, he must know how to conduct himself in the company of others. Teachers must bear in mind that the proprieties of social deportment are caught rather than taught. Hence, it is important that they must, in their daily contact with the adolescent student, serve as models of good social conduct.

Sense of Impartiality

Being fair-minded, impartial and tolerant towards other people, cultural practices and life itself is essential if there is to be peace and harmony in society. Very often, people do not get along with each other because they are unable to differentiate between social ideals and social realities. Many problems between individuals, communities and even nations arise because people adopt a one-sided attitude and become intolerant, prejudiced and biased. It is therefore crucial that the adolescent in school has to be shown, especially from real-life examples, the need to be tolerant, patient, open-minded and impartial. Reminding them of the negative effects of the obverse is equally important. Teachers can help to fulfil this task by being honest, fair and just in their dealings with the adolescent. In teaching controversial issues covered in the various subjects, they must maintain an unbiased and impartial stand. The instructional approach they adopt should not be one of preaching but rather one of appealing to the logical understanding and reasoning ability of the adolescent.

Civic Consciousness

As a result of the rat-race generated by technological advancement, people have tended to become self-centred, less civic-minded, disinterested in community development activities and apathetic towards the welfare of society. A person who lacks civic consciousness is unlikely to discharge voluntarily his social responsibility for the benefit of society. Teachers can help the adolescent to cultivate a sense of social commitment by encouraging them to participate in civic activities and community matters, and highlighting the benefits which can be derived from such involvement. The instructional approach of the teacher must be one of motivation as social commitment cannot be festered through coercion. The adolescent is more likely to be involved if the activities are conducted in an interesting and practical manner. Field experiences such as a day in court, a visit to the fire station, actual participation in community development projects, and even observation of political rallies can help the teaching and learning of community affairs become more active and meaningful.

Further exploration is obviously needed to determine how teachers can effectively help the adolescent develop a favourable disposition for social responsibility so that it will enable him to relate well to others and to do his best for society. We can begin by making the adolescent feel, during instruction, that he is liked, needed, accepted and has a rightful place in society – it does not matter whether he is clever or stupid, his skin is light or dark, he is handsome or ugly, and goes to the mosque, temple or church, lives in the city or in the rural area and his forefathers were local-born or immigrants. It is others in a world where technology is rapidly threatening to dehumanise people. Due to personal prejudices and biases acquired consciously or unconsciously over the years, it is by no means a simple task for the teacher to accomplish this goal.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The rush of technological advances has transformed the world of work and society must keep pace accordingly. Whatever moves society is making to help its youth adjust to the future, it is clear that education will play a major role. Traditionally, education has been called upon to transmit knowledge of the past, link the past with the present and create new ideas that will contribute to the future. Presently, since we are living in an age in which the only constant phenomenon appears to be change itself, we need to look critically at whether the education the adolescent receives in school is providing him with the essential survival skills to meet the challenges that will serve his needs in the future. If our schools are unable to educate him for work in a highly technical society, then his future ahead will be bleak as he will not be able to support himself economically. There is no single programme of instruction that can effectively prepare the adolescent for adulthood but if the basic survival skills in terms of learning, adaptation, work and human relations are integrated in the different subjects of the curriculum, he will be better prepared to handle the problems confronting him when he leaves school. To prepare the adolescent for technological change is to equip him for self-education, to enhance his trainability and increase his capacity for co-operation and teamwork. To accomplish this task, teachers must focus their attention on the pedagogical emphases discussed. Their role as a purveyor of information will be reduced in importance but that of an adviser and councellor will be enhanced. This means that they will have to devote more time to listen to the problems of their adolescent student and to help him seek out conflicting arguments rather than handing out ready-made truths. During instruction, they will have to direct their energy to productive and creative activities such as interaction, discussion and ssimulation to facilitate understanding and application. The challenge facing teachers is therefore one of motivating the student. They will have to devise ways and means to inspire and stimulate the adolescent student to get involved and be accountable for his own learning.

In our preoccupation with providing education, we must not overlook the task of fostering self-education. Improving the quality of education for the adolescent does not necessarily imply providing him with more knowledge in the form of academic content. Conveying information that is already in the textbook is the simplest task of teaching but whether the knowledge imparted has been learnt or not depends largely on the learning skills of the student and the amount of effort he is prepared to put in to be involved. If the adolescent student is motivated and shows how he can increase his own store of knowledge, he is very likely to respond to the challenge. It is therefore important to teach the adolescent in school how to learn to acquire useful knowledge in order to be adaptive to change. We are so accustomed to the idea of 'giving' education that we assume what the student receives in the form of knowledge will automatically be learnt. Thus in giving education, we have all this while, metaphorically speaking, been supplying 'fish' to the adolescent we teach. If this trend continues, he will never perceive the need to fish for himself. As he has not been taught how to fish, he will never be able to become self-reliant. In the words of an ancient Chinese sage, if we give a man a fish, he will only have a meal but if we teach him how to fish, he will be able to feast for life. By educating the adolescent to cultivate the habit of learning is to help him become functionally self-reliant. In that way, he will be moving together with his peers closer to achieving a learning society – a society that is better prepared and equipped to learn from the changes in the world today to face the challenges of the world of tomorrow.

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Technological Changes and the Adolescent

Colin R. Palmer

A little over a hundred years ago, the vast majority of parents were bewildered by what their children were doing in school. They had little or no perception of what school meant for they themselves had no experience of it. This was not the case with the teachers. Although the new mass education was an exciting and then modern experiment, the tasks and activities of the teachers were familiar and had a long history reaching back many hundreds of years. For the past fifty or so years, stability has been the key word for both parent and teacher alike. Yes, there have been changes: new subjects have been introduced and others discarded or modified; entrance selectivity to the secondary level has been removed to a large extent; we have become more child-centred than teacher-centred. However, to the outsider looking in on the system as a whole, the activities of the teacher and the pupil have remained almost untouched. The teacher is still the focus of the classroom. Teaching remains in the oral tradition (it is less than ten years ago that a Professor of English Literature told me that he still had to find a use for the chalkboard in his teaching). The teacher is still the fount of all knowledge and wisdom and other resources (books, films, television, slides ... whatever) are supplements. Indeed, the language we use reinforces their role: we speak of *audio visual AIDS.*

However, times are changing and changing rapidly. Consider briefly some statistics. Figure 1 shows the growth in market exports of equipment concerned with generating TV images. Its exponential nature cannot be denied. The same trend is seen in the expenditure (Figure 2) on television and video equipment in the United Kingdom (UN., 1983).

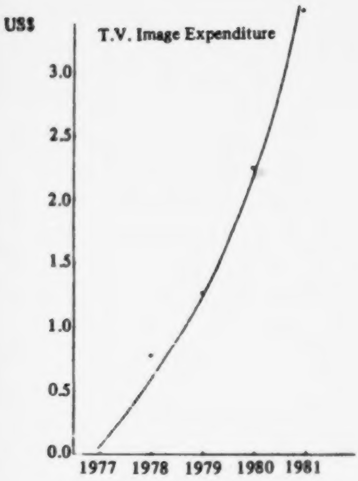

Figure 1: TV Image Expenditure

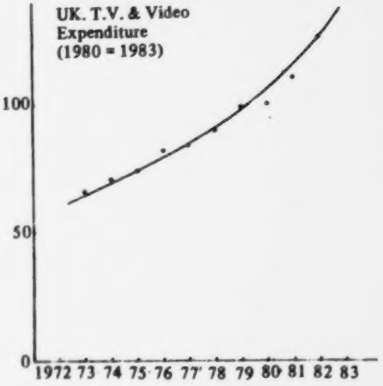

Figure 2: UK T.V. and Video Expenditure

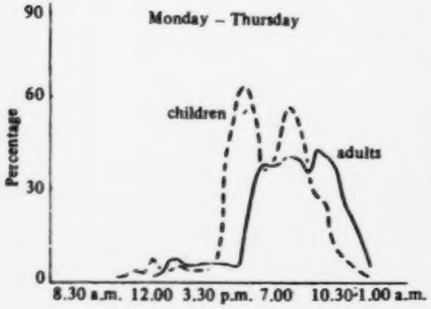

Figure 3: Viewing Patterns from Monday to Thursday

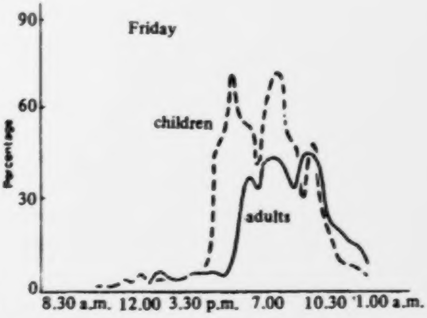

Figure 4: Viewing Patterns on Friday

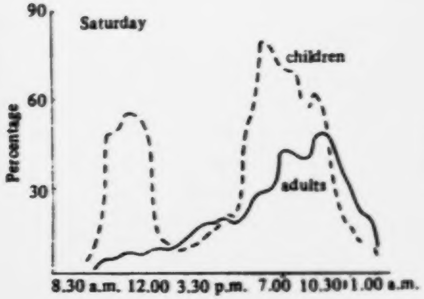

Figure 5: Viewing Patterns on Saturday

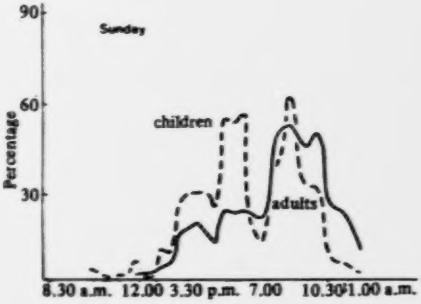

Figure 6: Viewing Patterns on Sunday

What are the viewing patterns? The latest available figures for the United Kingdom are shown in Figures 3–6 (HMSO, 1983).

These figures reveal the following:

(1) Adults: Watching television between Monday and Friday has little variation. The sharp rise that occurs each day coincides with the end of the working day and the onset of post evening meal activities. In comparison, notice the early morning surge of children's viewing and the steady drift on Saturdays reflecting the greater adult audience availability and possibly the transmission of sporting events in the afternoon.

(2) Children: The apparent bimodol distribution on weekdays can be interpreted as a break for evening meal after an initial peak immediately following the end of school. Perhaps young children going to bed in the early evening accounts for the slight drop in audience after this break. The distinct trough on Saturdays reflects the change from morning 'children's' transmissions to afternoon sports transmissions. Roughly 60/70% capture is obtained during peak 'children's hours' and a significant proportion of children are watching television after 9.00 p ... the time at which 'adult' programming begins in earnest.

When children watch is one question and how much they watch is another. There is a well-worn American statistic that children have to be at school till they are eleven years old before they become exposed to their teacher as much as they are exposed to television. There is no reason to doubt that the same is true of the United Kingdom but would add that this will be exacerbated as video-cassette recorder sales increase.

We now approach the idea of viewing materials from a different perspective – that of Postman (1983) and his idea of the disappearing childhood. The substance of Postman's idea is simple. Childhood, as it is presently understood, is a recent innovation and one that has passed its time, primarily as a result of the impact of television. One way of analysing the concept of childhood is to examine its defining attributes for if it is disappearing, these attributes will be changing. Let us look at a few of these, comparing the life-styles of adults and children and their dresses, tasks and leisure activities. Early medieval pictures give us some idea of medieval life-styles. The clothes, tasks, the leisure activities are graphically illustrated in Bruegel's paintings. In these, children are dressed identically with their parents: they are simply smaller. The same is seen to be true well into the following centuries. Gainborough's family portraits imply a similar observation. At first glance, it is difficult to distinguish between adults and children unless relative sizes are apparent. In the 1900s, changes do appear and children's clothes are distinct from adult's clothes.

What of leisure activities? Again artists give the same message, and again a change is seen in the more recent years.

What about work? The message is repeated. Within the limits of their physical capabilities, medieval children are treated as MINI-ADULTS. On a map on the wall of my home, the cartographer Bowen in 1749 comments on the inhabitants of Norwich '... in the making of which all hands are employed and even little children can earn their living'.

In this context of children as mini-adults, the employment of children in the cotton mills and coal mines of England at the time of the industrial revolution might be understandable, if not excusable.

What happened in the 1900s that suddenly changed all this? Simply, the industrial revolution produced the need for people who could read, write and do arithmetic (the so-called three Rs). These abilities are not what Postman calls biological skills. They have to be acquired and that acquisition is a formal activity requiring time. Childhood thus becomes the time it takes to generate the skills required to become an adult. (Postman argues that this process of breaking with biological skills began with the development of the Guttenburg press when reading became a significant skill for advancement.)

So why is childhood disappearing? Simply, says Postman, the necessity for an individual to have learned these skills is being removed: biological skills are becoming all that is necessary. How? Perhaps the best way of answering this question is by asking 'questions'. Why should we spend hours drilling children with multiplication tables, additions and subtractions and divisions when pocket calculators can do the job more effectively and more accurately? The only reason for chanting twelve times tables throughout my early years was the quaint currency then in use in the United Kingdom. There were twelve pennies in one shilling! Why should we concentrate on the manipulative skills of writing when the microprocessor/word processor makes even my handwriting legible? Why learn to read when we can listen and watch? All that is needed is to talk and for that we need the voice, and this can be done over vast distances by telephone and networked microprocessors. Thus, says Postman, the necessity for an extended childhood is disappearing.

Is there any evidence to support this notion? Certainly there is in terms of equipment provison. A total of 80% of homes in the United Kingdom possess an audio-cassette recorder and 1 in 11 homes possess a microprocessor. My children have more computing power at their fingertips than myself when I was a student undertaking doctoral research in chemistry! The British Broadcasting Corporation regularly transmits software in the quiet hours of transmission. British Telecom offers a similar service.

Table 1 shows how the video-cassette recorder industry is growing in Western Europe and, in particular, in the United Kingdom (Whitten, 1983). By 1985, 1 in 2 homes within the United Kingdom are expected to possess a video-tape recorder. However, why single out television? It is not only the amount that is being watched but this linked with what is being watched – the images that it portrays. Quietly, childhood is being squeezed downwards by adulthood. Consider those 'housewives' and their 'children' advertising soap, breakfast cereals, holidays and the like.

Table 1
Video Cassette Recorders in Homes (in Percentages)

Country	1982	1983	1984	1985
Italy	1	2		
France	3	4		
Benelux	7	10		
Scandinavia	10	13		
West Germany	11	15		
Rest of Western Europe	4	6		
United Kingdom	16	22		50 (?)
Total	7	10	18 (?)	

The generation gap certainly seems to have shrunk! It is submitted that a not small proportion of these mothers would seem to have given birth to their child at an age when this was biologically impossible! The edges of the generation gap are being blurred and this is also seen elsewhere. Children's clothing is reverting back to smaller editions of their parent's clothing and the pressures are also on the parents for their clothing is being styled in the image of perpetual youth. If we look at the type of films that are produced, childhood again is seen to be under pressure. The proportion of films deemed by the censor in the United Kingdom as being fit for unaccompanied children has been steadily declining (see Figure 7). However, the number of adult films has remained steady and if one reflects upon what is now considered to be an adult film, then the middle category – perhaps more accurately described as adolescent and late adolescent films – takes in a slightly different perspective. Add this observation to the fact that a significant use of video-cassette recorders is for the replaying of films in the home, then the impact of television on a disappearing childhood takes on an added twist.

A recent but admittedly limited study of the impact on school children of video viewing in the home was undertaken by some Glasgow school teachers. In short, they made the following observations.

(1) The native Glaswegian adolescent watches about 3/4 hours video nightly, more at weekends. They tend to watch either alone or in peer groups without adults being present. The tapes tend to be pirate copies of films that they would not be permitted to watch in a

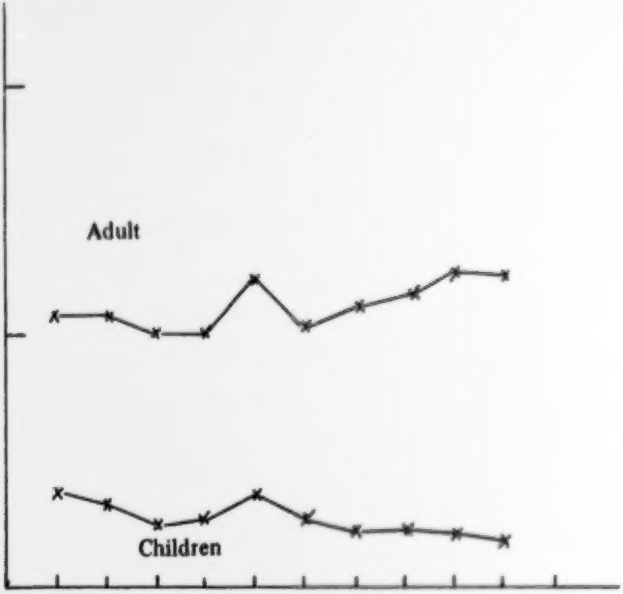

Figure 7: Feature Film Certificates

Source: *Social Trends 12,* London, HMSO, 1982.

cinema. The girls tend to watch 'love' stories while the boys 'violent' and 'blue' movies.

(2) Children of immigrant families tend to watch as families in the presence of their parents. They do not watch quite as much as their native peers but they do tend to watch later in the night, usually after the family business has closed. The recordings they watch come from video libraries and are of ethnic origin. The children of Chinese parents tend to watch Chinese films in which the language is Chinese. The children of Indian parentage tend to watch Indian films in Hindi. Rarely are English sub-titles seen. Understandable though this is, it presents a potential nightmare for the school teacher when a recent observation made known to me of an inner city school in which pupils spoke eighty different mother tongues is thought of.

Here are some of the concerns that face the teacher as technology moves forward and as said earlier on, times are changing and changing rapidly. But are they? Is childhood really disappearing? Or is it simply that we have to do different things during that time and make different use of our teachers? Teachers are no different from anybody else. They too are children of their own generation, may be a frightened generation when you compare the effects of a microprocessor or video-cassette recorder on a teacher with the effects they have on a child. The present teacher thinks in terms of audio-visual aids. The future teacher may well be regarded as a learning manager. However, the child will still have to gain knowledge, values, beliefs and skills. The nature of these may well change but their acquisition will still take time and that time will still be childhood. Personally, it is neither believed childhood is disappearing nor that its role is changing. However, it is recognised that what we do during this time may well change and the means by which we do it may change even more radically. A dark age is not seen ahead of us. What is seen is an exciting and challenging period in which the teachers' role remains what it always has been – preparing the next generation for adulthood by using the best and most effective means at their disposal.

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Symposium V

SYMPOSIUM V A: Counselling and Career Planning

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Seng Seok Hoon*
RAPPORTEUR	*Dr. Khadijah Rohani Mohd Yunus*

Guidance and Counselling in Malaysian Schools: A Review and Critique

Amir Awang and Latiff Mirasa

INTRODUCTION

Guidance which provides the basic services of pupil inventory, information services, counselling, placement/orientation and evaluation/research is relatively new in the Malaysian education system. Various efforts, formal and informal, and by the Ministry of Education and voluntary organisations have been undertaken since its inception in 1967, resulting in various forms or degrees of accomplishment and achievement. About eighteen years have passed since its inception. It is perhaps appropriate to take a closer look at the services now and to ascertain to what extent they have provided the necessary assistance and guidance to the adolescents in schools.

We propose to divide this brief paper into four major aspects, namely,

(1) a brief historical overview of guidance services in the Malaysian education system with a view to providing the framework for better understanding;
(2) a brief review of researches that have been done in relation to career guidance;
(3) a review of what our present-day adolescents have to say about career guidance in schools; and finally
(4) our views/recommendations on how to further enhance the services, if the current practices are seen to be deficient in certain aspects.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In order to understand better the sub-sections that follow, we feel a brief overview of guidance programme in Malaysia is useful.

As we have stated at the onset, guidance made its first formal appearance in 1967, arising from the Ministry of Education's policy that was made in 1963 which stipulated that *all* schools, especially at the secondary level, should have their own-guidance teachers. In 1968, a three-day seminar in the states of Kedah, Pulau Pinang and Selangor was conducted with a view to providing manpower to manage and organise guidance services. In the same year, a Service Circular of the Ministry of Education 5209/30/(13) dated 1 September, 1968 was issued. The circular instructed *all* heads of schools to appoint guidance teachers who would have a reduced teaching load and be free from co-curricular involvement. Those appointed were expected to devote as much time as possible to guidance. Unfortunately, progress was slow due to various unforeseen circumstances including the shortage of teachers.

However, in 1969, with financial assistance from Unicef, 275 teachers attended a six-day course which marked the beginning of a series of similar courses till about 1972 when the financial assistance from Unicef was terminated.

As more systematic and organised courses were conducted, guidance teachers became better informed, better motivated and could provide better services. A need to supervise and to streamline guidance services in schools in order to achieve better results became obvious. Hence in 1970, six regional guidance officers were appointed with specific terms of reference. One would have thought that guidance services in the schools would have improved by now. Unfortunately, improvements were neither visible nor were they very significant. The failure was attributed to various factors, including the *perceived* lack of understanding and support from the school heads, due partly to their ignorance of the programme as well as to the greater emphasis on examinations. The provisions in the service circulars of the Ministry were not fully implemented. Hence, retardation in guidance services in the schools.

In 1974, an assistant director of the Guidance Unit was appointed to lend support to the Director in planning and organising training programmes to boost further the guidance services. As a result of the training programmes that were organised, some 3,000 teachers were trained for the secondary schools and about 480 for the primary schools. A survey in 1979 revealed, however, that out of this number, only 700 were still carrying out their guidance duties. A vast majority have been promoted to perform other duties or moved out of guidance services.

To ensure that *all* teachers trained after 1970 have been exposed to guidance and counselling, the Teacher Education Division of the Ministry of Education has included in its revised teacher-education curriculum a basic element of guidance. The curriculum has constantly been reviewed and revised, and presently, guidance and counselling is adequately included to enable newly-trained teachers to understand the basic philosophy and principles of guidance and even to practise them in their daily routine.

As far as universities are concerned, guidance and counselling has always been an important part and parcel of the teacher-education programme. The 'new breed' obviously has an advantage over the earlier batches of students.

The Specialist Teachers' Training Institute, the National University and the University of Agriculture (all in Kuala Lumpur) have started a one-year specialist course in guidance, a diploma programme in counselling and a Bachelor of Education degree course in counselling respectively over the last few years. It is envisaged that the product of these institutions will provide a strong core of professionals who will eventually be full-time professional counsellors in schools, as recommended by the Cabinet Committee Report, 1980. The leadership provided by those who have obtained their Masters or Doctorate degrees overseas and locally in enhancing the above-mentioned programmes cannot be ignored.

That guidance and counselling is an important component of education has rarely been disputed. Any deficiency in the implementation of the programme in schools is probably due to the tussle among the priorities. Under the current climate, academic achievement has always been given top priority. Hence, any programme that is seen to be less directly related to academic work will somewhat be given less priority.

However, these deficiencies have often been met by voluntary organisations such as the State Vocational Guidance Associations, the Malaysian Vocational Guidance Association, the Association of Counsellors of Malaysia, the Lion Club, the Rotary Club, the Befrienders and a whole host of other voluntary organisations. The major drawback, as we see it, is that these organisations tend to be urban-based. As a result, a great majority of the rural students have been deprived of the opportunities and benefits which are also not readily available in the rural schools. In both cases, the rural students are at a disadvantage. It is perhaps timely that a more viable and wholesome strategy be planned and implemented so that both rural and urban adolescents can derive similar benefits.

Since the Guidance Unit of the Ministry of Education has been placed within the School Division of the Ministry, the training and implementation programmes have improved. We hope that the present pace will be sustained, if not enhanced, so that adolescents in schools could be 'guided' and 'counselled' toward a more meaningful and satisfying future.

REVIEW OF RESEARCHES

Although guidance services have been introduced into the Malaysian education system some eighteen years ago, the number of researches pertaining to career guidance is relatively few. Most of them constitute dissertations for Bachelor of Education (post-graduate) and Master of Education degrees. Other available researches in the same area come from the academic exercises or projects by the Diploma of Counselling students from the National University.

A cursory look at these researches show that they tend to focus on career choices (Rahimah, 1982), factors influencing career choices (D'Cruz, 1967; Reutens, 1967), vocational preferences (Amir Awang, 1970; Ai Chin, 1975), attitudes and values toward some selected careers (Mbogo, 1971), knowledge about careers (Amir Awang, 1970; Rahimah. 1982) and others. The findings of a few of these researches are briefly presented below.

Mary Reutens (1967) who was studying the vocational choice of boys in Forms III and V discovered, among other things, that the choices tended to be narrow and stereotyped. The choice of vocations were influenced by interest, job prestige, altruistic values and aspirations.

In the same year, D'Cruz (1967) in surveying the vocational interests and occupational choices of Form V students found that their choices tended to be influenced by their own teachers. It was also found that there was a disparity between interest in and choice of a job. In addition, the subjects were found to be fairly ignorant of job requirements when asked to make vocational choices commensurate with their educational background. Like Reutens, D'Cruz also found that the primary factors influencing choice were interest, ability, altruistic values and extrinsic reward system.

A study by Catherine Symons (1977) revealed some interesting facts. She was exploring the opinions of students, guidance teachers and administrators with regard to guidance programme in the school. As far as students were concerned, the following data was collected:

64.9% – did not see their cumulative record card (001 and 002 cards).
29.9% – felt that little had been done to help identify their abilities, interests, etc.
4.7% – had discussion with the guidance teacher.
69.6% – were afraid/could not find a way to approach the guidance teacher.
66.8% – felt that not enough activities have been done in the school.
87.0% – did not discuss their vocational plans.
43.0% – did not get information on the role of guidance teacher.
85.4% – felt that guidance is necessary.

On the other hand, data on the guidance teachers and administrators reveal the following statistics:

65.0% – felt that they have helped the students.
44.2% – felt the cumulative record cards were not used for the students.
53.5% – indicated that special rooms for guidance were not available. Also, guidance teachers did not have enough time.
16.3% – felt that information services were sufficient.
95.6% – felt that co-curricular activities were important.
97.8% – felt that guidance activities were very important for orientation purposes.

The available researches are not only limited in number but also in scope. The findings do confirm several hunches or assumptions as well as shed some light on various aspects of guidance and conscelling which are useful in as far as the guidance teacher is concerned. Similar findings have also been reported in various international journals. Obviously, career guidance is not that narrow in scope. New areas need to be explored to provide better understanding and better strategies for effective career guidance services.

In the light of what we already know from these studies, we have embarked upon a small exploration to investigate the current status of guidance in schools as viewed by the students. It is hoped that our findings will give an up-to-date picture of guidance services in the schools that are involved in the study.

CAREER GUIDANCE AS PERCEIVED BY THE PRESENT-DAY STUDENTS

This project was undertaken with a view to soliciting the perceptions and experiences of about 142 students in some selected secondary schools. The schools selected were located in both rural and urban settings. To cater for

Table 1
Distribution of Subjects

Academic Stream	Race	Urban		Rural		Total
		Male	Female	Male	Female	
Arts	Malay	10	10	10	9	39
	Chinese	0	2	1	6	9
	Indian	8	2	3	2	15
Science	Malay	10	10	10	12	42
	Chinese	8	11	6	6	31
	Indian	0	0	4	2	6
Total		36	35	34	37	142

uniformity, the school chosen did not (and still do not) have professionally trained counsellors either from the Specialist Teachers' Training Institute or the National University. These guidance teachers, however, had some exposure to guidance and counselling through short courses.

Table 1 provides a breakdown of the subjects by sex, ethnic background and academic streams.

A questionnaire containing 55 questions pertaining to a brief background information about the students, and his/her view, knowledge, and aspirations about guidance services in the school where he/she is currently studying.

From the responses given, the following statistics were obtained:

99.3% – there are guidance teachers.
59.2% – have guidance rooms.
33.3% – career section found in school libraries.
76.6% – bulletin boards were available.
93.7% – knew the guidance teachers.
22.5% – had discussion with guidance teachers.
15.6% – found the discussion very satisfactory.
73.3% – found the discussion satisfactory.
13.3% – organised guidance exhibition.
48.9% – attended career talks.
25.3% – found career talks useful and in line with their interest.
36.6% – were provided tips on job selection.
7.1% – found the guidance services very satisfactory.
60.7% – found the guidance services satisfactory.
32.1% – found the guidance services not satisfactory.

With regard to choice of jobs, students were asked to indicate first, second and third preferences. Holland's occupational typology was used for this purpose. We found the following statistics:

Table 2
Job Preferences of Students In Percentages

Job	Order of Preferences					
	First		Second		Third	
Job I	Realistic	40.8%	Investigative	24.6%	Social	14.1%
Job II	Realistic	38.3%	Social	21.9%	Conventional	14.9%
Job III	Realistic	40.6%	Conventional	24.6%	Social	15.2%

Sources of information leading to the choice of jobs are given in Table 3. Job preference is based on *three* important sources.

Table 3
Sources of Information and Job Preferences in Percentages

Job Preferences	Own Reading	Parent	Teacher/School	Peer
Job I	46.4	19.2	18.6	–
Job II	41.1	11.3	17.0	17.0
Job III	45.2	–	13.1	15.3

When it comes to questions pertaining to jobs that require more specific responses, we found the following data shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Knowledge of Jobs Preferred by Students in Percentages

Job Preferences			Response
I	II	III	
70.7	71.6	68.3	knew where to get the job.
76.6	77.1	78.1	have seen people in that job.
64.5	65.2	60.6	knew the entry requirements to the job.
35.7	32.3	40.7	knew about the salary structure.
43.5	34.2	40.1	knew the upward mobility within the job.

Students were also asked to indicate the factors they considered important when entering a job (Table 5).

Table 5
Factors Determining Job Preferences in Percentages

Job Preferences	Factors				
	Salary	Status	Work Setting	Authority	Security
Job I	21.9	10.6	26.9	4.2	26.2
Job II	33.0	13.6	28.7	5.0	19.4
Job III	32.1	10.2	32.8	3.6	21.1

In addition, they were also required to indicate their preferences towards the agencies they would like to work with, the nature of job (regular or shifts) and the working days per week. The findings are indicated below.

85.5% – government sector
9.5% – private sector
5.7% – self-employed
87.3% – regular

12.6% – irregular (shifts)
42.9% – five-day week
57.0% – six-day week

The students were asked to indicate the level of academic/professional qualification (Table 6) that match their career choices.

Table 6
Level of Academic Job Preferences and Professional Qualifications

Job Preferences	Required Qualifications					
	LCE	SC	HSC	College	Poly-technic	University
Job I	.709	14.8	7.8	6.3	2.8	67.3
Job II	–	17.1	11.0	12.0	3.5	55.7
Job III	.709	36.0	7.0	7.8	1.4	46.8

Note: LCE = Lower Certificate of Education
SC = Malaysian School Certificate
HSC = Higher School Certificate

CONCLUSION

Based on the statistics presented earlier on, it is observed that generally the physical facilities and the manpower available are adequate for the purpose of conducting guidance services. However, the statistics also indicate some deficiencies, namely:

(1) The career section in the library is still inadequate, presumably due to a lack of space, funds or knowledge about career information. About 82% of the school libraries in rural schools lack career materials.

(2) While there is a relative improvement with regard to percentage of students meeting the counsellors and discussing their problems or plans, there is still a good majority of them (78%) who have not come forward. This may be due to a lack of activities, time, publicity, knowledge about the role of guidance teacher and, perhaps, some of their problems have been resolved at home by the parents.

(3) Career and counselling activities have not been extensively organised and, if organised, may not be seen as useful by the students.

It is interesting to note that career choices by the students are still limited and stereotyped. There is an over-propensity towards military services, followed by the medical and teaching professions. The choices seem to be influenced by altruistic values – the desire to do services to the nation. Such choices raise some questions. Firstly, there is currently a strong move to reduce intake into the Government services and to expand manpower within the private and industrial sectors. Yet, very few indicated their preference for entrepreneurship. It is, however, heartening to note that the choices of at least 1.4% of the subjects indicated are in this direction.

There seems to be a limited knowledge about careers, presumably due to a lack of exposure. In choosing military services, the subjects were quite unrealistic since the intake is being reduced. The desire to move into the medical profession could have been prompted by the current controversy and attention given to doctors in this country. It cannot be denied that the medical profession is also a prestigious one.

A departure from the previous situation is that the majority of the students obtained their career information through their own reading. While their efforts are commendable, yet it is possible that such an approach has brought about limited knowledge as well as the stereotyped choices. It is also interesting to note that only 2% to 7% of the students obtained career information from their guidance teachers. It may be a depressing situation but yet one has to acknowledge several constraints that exist.

Parents and subject teachers are playing a more active role in this area. However, the extent of knowledge of these people vis-a-vis career information may also be limited, particularly among parents in the rural areas. Information obtained through peers may suffer from several deficiencies.

Based on statistics, we found that the students generally have adequate knowledge about the jobs they choose, either as first, second or third choice. They knew less of the salary structure, although salary was considered the most important factor in their vocational choice. This may be due to inavailability of information about salary structures.

They generally lack knowledge about upward mobility in a particular job. This is closely related to the above phenomenon since salary structures and upward mobility are inter-related.

Three factors were generally considered important in their vocational choices, namely, salary, work setting and security.

In as far as salary is concerned, about 66% indicated a salary range of M$1,000 to M$3,000 as being adequate to enjoy a comfortable life. We feel that their estimate is realistic.

Why security constitutes an important factor can perhaps be related to the types of jobs they prefer. As indicated earlier on, a high percentage (85.8%) prefer to serve with the Government where tenureship is almost guaranteed once a person is confirmed in the service.

With regard to work setting, students in the urban schools preferred to stay where they were while students from the rural school chose to work in the urban areas. The preference expressed by the rural school students may be due to:

(1) better facilities;
(2) greater job opportunities; and
(3) the present trend of rural-urban migration as propagated by the policy makers.

If we relate the statistics on job choices and academic requirements, we would see a realistic aspiration in that a vast majority of the subjects indicated university as the highest academic level they wished to pursue. While such aspirations are quite related to vocational preferences, they may also be fairly unrealistic in as far as educational opportunities and job markets at tertiary level are concerned.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Having reviewed the historical development of guidance in Malaysian schools and the relevant research studies pertaining to career guidance, we feel we are now in a somewhat better position to offer some recommendations.

We propose to present our views under four different sub-sections, namely:

(1) facilities;
(2) activities;
(3) personnel; and
(4) policy.

Facilities

(1) Proper guidance rooms should be provided so that guidance activities could be conducted effectively. Telephones should also be provided to facilitate communication.
(2) All school libraries must have a section on careers and adequate publicity of its existence must be made.
(3) Special bulletin boards at appropriate points must be provided to draw attention of the students to the latest information.
(4) Career guidance activities must be adequately publicised through regular blurbs and news bulletin.
(5) Section on careers in the school libraries should be adequately provided with various forms of vocational and educational information. Non-printed materials such as audio-tapes, video-tapes and slides should also be made available. This vocational and educational

information must include materials from the public as well as the private sector. Dictionaries of occupations or classifications of occupations should also be made available.

(6) Public media service such as radio, television and newspaper should be made accessible to rural communities. In the case of the radio and television, one must ensure good transmission.

Activities

(1) Activities that are organised should be meaningful and commensurate with the educational levels of the students.

(2) There must be a variety in the activities organised to sustain interest.

(3) Students should be encouraged to participate in organising these activities to provide relevant experience and opportunity for them to meet people.

Personnel

(1) In line with the recommendations of the Cabinet Committee Report (1979), each school should be provided with a full-time, professionally trained counsellor for every 1,000 students.

(2) In addition, a minimum of one support staff (a clerk or typist) should also be provided to assist the counsellor with his day-to-day routine.

(3) Parents and members of the community should be brought in to participate in drawing up plans for the year. These community resources should also be used to provide assistance when organising activities.

Policy

(1) Adequate funding is very crucial to achieve any measure of success. For without it, much of what is planned will not be implemented. This has in fact been one of the major factors that has often been discussed.

(2) A system of supervision and training at district level must also be considered so that some key personnel are always available for quick consultation.

(3) Researches must be more aggressively pursued. It is hoped that through these researches, we can develop our own model of guidance services and counselling that is commensurate with our culture and value systems.

(4) Local test batteries should be developed to assist counsellors in their efforts to obtain a better understanding of their clients.

(5) Counsellors should avoid operating purely from his office. Strategies must be thought out so that he can meet and talk with students to remove any possible barrier. He must be seen to be approachable and helpful.

(6) Periodic conferences must be organised to allow teachers and interested personnel to share their experiences and discuss common problems.

(7) Guidance teachers must also teach a few periods a week so that they can be attuned to the needs and interests of students.

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Some Aspects of Student Development in Malaysian Universities **

T.Marimuthu

Some of the data collected for the study on student development in Malaysian universities were presented and discussed. Amongst the 693 students interviewed, the majority of them (52.4%) wanted to be brilliant students compared with other categories such as star atheletes, leaders in campus activities and popular students. This showed the importance attached to academic work.

Then the characteristics of a popular student in the campus were explored. Being active in campus activities, widely-read and excelling in studies were considered to be the most important factors for a student to be popular amongst his peers in the university.

In discussing social and leisure activities amongst university students, it was found that the most regular leisure-time activities of a majority of students were reading of newspapers (85.0%), followed by listening to the radio/music (50.0%) and discussing work with friends (30.0%).

Interaction amongst students was the other aspect that was discussed. It was found that the strongest tendency in friendship groupings among students in Malaysian universities was ethnicity. This factor was selected by 46.0% of the total sample while the second most important category was provincialism which was selected by 22.0% of the students. A total of 16.0% of the students stated that they mixed freely and 13.0% felt that the groupings were on the basis of social class background. Only a small minority (4.0%) mentioned other factors such as a common religion, similar courses taken together and others as the basis of their getting together.

Finally, changes in the personality characteristics of the students were discussed. The majority of the students felt that the period spent in the univeristy has influenced their attitudes, values and beliefs. They perceived that they have become more independent, mature, confident and realistic. They also stated that they have become less tense, materialistic, impulsive, lazy and snobbish.

The Needs of Malaysian Youth

Mohd. Yunus Mohd. Noor

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the needs of Malaysian youth from three different perspectives:

(1) personal background;
(2) educational background; and
(3) vocational background

In the first two perspectives – personal and educational background – the kinds of change that Malaysian youth are experiencing today are dealt with. Regarding vocational background, the pressures confronting Malaysian youth and their vocational needs are examined in detail. This is an area for which the young people of Malaysia are inadequately prepared and wrongly motivated.

Malaysia is a very 'youthful' country. Well over half (68.3 per cent) of the population are below 30 years of age (see Figure 1). From the population pyramid below, it can be seen that 41.6 per cent of the population are between 10 and 30 years of age. This is the age range that will be the concern of this paper.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

This is an area which is currently undergoing tremendous change and influencing the attitudes and values of youth today.

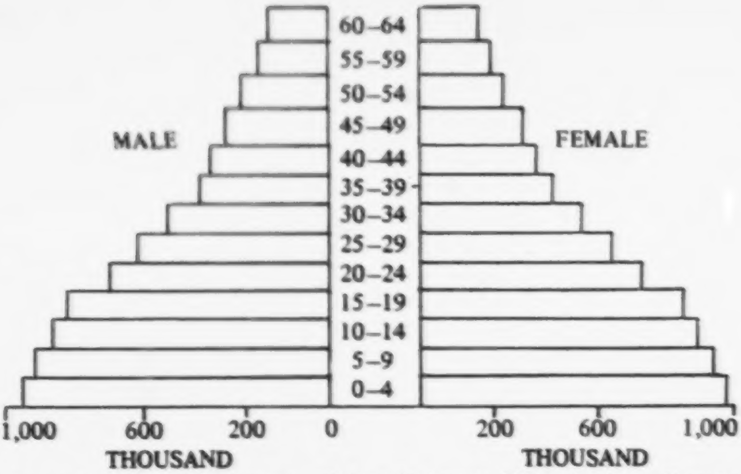

Figure 1: The Distribution of Population in Malaysia According to Sex, 1980

Changes in Family Patterns

The once familiar traditional home with its extended family is becoming rare. Young people no longer benefit from the influence of grandparents, uncles and aunts, and other relatives who live in the same house or in houses nearby. They now grow up in neighbourhoods surrounded by strangers and they only have their parents to help them in the process of growing up. Quite often, this help is not even available because both parents work outside the home, often for long periods at a time. Young people, therefore, are often left to develop with minimal adult guidance. Consequently, they learn to rely a great deal on their siblings or peers. Some of them may have the benefit of live-in domestic helpers who provide some form of supervision and guidance. However, domestic helpers are often 'strangers' in the home. They seldom develop emotional links with the families with whom they stay and often prefer to remain as 'outsiders'.

Apart from the diminishing influence of the extended family and the increase of the nuclear family, the Malaysian population is becoming more mobile. A considerable number of people shift to urban areas to seek better jobs and higher wages. There is also an urban to rural shift with the establishment of land development schemes which provide agricultural opportunities as sources of income. Unfortunately, these shifts often deny youth the opportunity to develop lasting friendships. In urban areas too, young people are usually physically isolated and fenced in, and this can curb both their physical and social development.

Personal Adjustment Problems

As more and more young people are subjected to the new family situation, they become more and more isolated. Most of them become less self-confident and have problems meeting their adjustment needs. They often have problems getting along with their peers and they have little knowledge of their own personal assets and limitations.

Their future becomes uncertain. They sometimes have to decide whether to continue schooling or to look for a job. About three-quarters of this age group leave school or formal education after the age of 15.

Pressures on Youth

Malaysian youth are subjected to a great deal of pressure. Apart from educational pressure which will be discussed later on, they are subjected to two other major sources of pressure.

Religious Pressure

There is at the moment a religious revival in Malaysia and people are increasingly turning to religion. A considerable number of young people have joined religious movement to escape the various pressures and uncertainties facing them. While some participate in these movements because of their religious convictions, others participate because they have been forced to do so.

Malaysian youth involved in religious activities spend a great deal of time in prayer, religious talks and missionary activities. To this group of people, religion is given top priorities. Studies and other activities assume minor roles. Those who participate under duress lose out in the long run. They not only fail to achieve salvation through their religious participation but also hardly achieve any success in their studies or other activities. In short, this group of young people suffer from various kinds of minor conflict and uncertainties.

The involvement of youth in religious activities has seriously affected the growth of sporting and cultural activities in the country. These young people are either discouraged or prevented from participating in games and cultural activities. The number of good sportsmen and sportswomen, in particular, is sadly declining. Even physical education classes in schools are affected by this situation.

Drug Addiction

Apart from religious revival, the youth of Malaysia are under constant threat by another group of people – those who are trying to weaken the nation by influencing its young to go on drugs. This may be an organised ideologicals sabotage of a nation or motivation by individuals or groups to make phenomenal profits. Whatever the motivation, the fact remains that the majority of addicts in this country are young men and women.

Initially, drug addiction was confined to youth who had left school – the so-called 'dropouts'. Gradually, the addiction spreads to students in institutions of higher learning, and secondary and primary schools. Eventually it may even reach the pupils in kindergartens!

The ease with which drugs can be acquired makes it very difficult for youth to keep away from them. Peer pressure sometimes becomes so strong that young people have no option but to try drugs at least once in order to stop the harassment from friends. In some cases, the initial consumption of drugs is merely the beginning! To some, drugs offer the escape they need from the pressures and uncertainties confronting them. Drugs are also readily available to those who need them. Where they come from and who supplies them are questions which often baffle the authorities. The threat of the death penalty has not deterred drug trafficking.

Influence of the Mass Media

Malaysian youth of today are beginning to read more newspaper, magazines and books. A recent study on the reading habits of Malaysian people revealed that 97% of the 15,054 people interviewed read newspapers, about 67% read magazines and 42% read books.[1] Youth are, therefore, becoming more aware of what is happening around them and in the world at large. This knowledge is augmented by what they hear and see on the television screen. In the same research, 35% of the respondents placed watching television as their main leisure-time activity and 21% indicated reading as their first choice.

In another study involving 1,559 first year students at the University of Malaya, 93% of them indicated that they watched television regularly.[2] About 58% of them viewed television shows for more than four hours a week. Of this group, about 16% watched for more than 11 hours a week. Apart from television 88.3% of these first year students listened to the radio.

Based on the recollection of first year students of a Malaysian university, it appears that they spent more time watching television and listening to the radio than presently as they had less academic work to pursue in their younger days. In many cases, children had limited choice of activities due to the lack of play areas at home and friends to play with. A considerable proportion of the viewing and listening is done on their own without adult supervision and guidance. They therefore tend to assimilate almost everything that they see and hear in the programmes, and some of these elements are incorporated into their value system. Some of these young people who are urbanised lack adult supervision and posses weak religious foundations, becoming 'strangers' in their own culture.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

This is yet another area in which Malaysian youth are subjected to tremendous pressure.

Overemphasis on the Importance of Schooling

Parents believe that success in schooling means success in life. As a result, parents spend a great deal of money on their children to ensure success. A majority of the children are given tuition either at home or at school. Apart from providing them with tuition, parents often offer material or monetary incentives to ensure that children become successful in public examinations. Gifts are bestowed on children who excel and they include bicycles, motorcycles, personal computers, trips to Disneyland and even cars.

Part of the reason some parents resort to the above motivational behaviour is to compensate for their own shortcomings as parents. They realise that they are unable to spend sufficient time with their children and are prepared to pay others to provide the assistance in the way of tuition, music lessons, ballet classes, and computer-programming lessons.

Many parents feel that such activities 'benefit' their children tremendously. They believe that they are providing their children with skills and knowledge that they themselves have not had the chance to acquire as children. Furthermore, they feel that they owe this to the children who should be much better off than they themselves.

What many parents fail to realise is that these children need them – their time, concern guidance and security – rather than what money can purchase. Furthermore, the emphasis on learning and success puts very strong pressures on children. Parents often regard their children's success as their own personal success and the latter seems to realise this fully. As a result, children become more tense and anxious as parents' expectations increase. Some of the children fail to cope with parental expectations and develop various psychosomatic illnesses, and resort to drugs, religion and even violence.

Lack of Coping Skills

Young people enter school with very wide discrepencies in their knowledge and skill. Some of the students enter school totally equipped with the knowledge of the three Rs. Others begin schooling with no knowledge of it all. Consequently, some of the children are likely to be left behind in their coping skills. There are pupils who are unable to read or write after six years of primary education. Teachers cannot meet the demands of these students because of their limited time and resources. At the same time, classes are large and if the teachers concerned hold back the progress of the class for the benefit of a few, the majority will be disadvantaged.

Many of the teachers consider the school curriculum to be too broad and too loaded. The complain is that time given to complete the syllabuses is inadequate and a high proportion of the teachers rush through them without ensuring learning effectiveness. At the end of the school year, students have a great deal to learn and absorb. Without study skills, they often resort to memorising a whole year's work.

School teachers spend considerable energy and effort in simulating public examinations, including proper trial examinations. As a result, teachers, emphasise on examination know how and the majority of students spend their time in perfecting their examination performance. A high proportion of the time is taken in examining past examination papers and anticipating future questions. This kind of behaviour only encourages the 'spotting' of questions and 'preparing' of model answers. It is thus not surprising that the best sellers on the book market today are model answers to public examinations.

The final outcome of all these activities is that students are very well trained or rehearsed for public examinations but probably not very well educated! An average first-year university student is a person who has been rehearsing examination techniques for the last thirteen years. He tends to perpetuate this skill within the university and when he leaves, he is still only well-trained but not educated.

Lack of Interest in Co-curricular Activities

With the overemphasis on examinations in school, the influence of the mass media, especially television at home, and religious pressures, the youth of today have little or no time to pursue co-curricular activities. Very few students have interests or hobbies at home. Even hobby clubs in schools are dwindling in numbers and variety. School societies and clubs have difficulties in maintaining their membership. Sporting activities are also adversely affected. In fact, the standard of sports throughout the country is being lowered very rapidly at all levels of education. The performance of our students in inter-ASEAN sporting activities attest to the fall in sports standards.

Cultural activities are similarly affected and it is very difficult to find enough volunteers to participate in cultural dances, drama and musical performances. Not only are there inadequate numbers of volunteers but also the dearth of talents among the students.

With this lack of interest in co-curricular activities, schools are unable to produce well-rounded students who can fit into any environment or situation. Instead, we have students who are very limited in their knowledge, extremely close minded or prejudiced in their thinking, and unable to accommodate or appreciate other viewpoints. Above all, there is a general atmosphere of lethargy, malaise and lack of initiative or drive among youth.

VOCATIONAL BACKGROUND

In this section, the kinds of change that Malaysian youth are experiencing, the pressures confronting them and their vocational needs will be examined in detail.

Over-emphasis on the Importance of a University Education

In giving talks to upper and post-secondary students, the question that is always asked of the audience is, 'How many of you would want to go to the university?'. The response is always a positive 'yes' by all members of the audience. Following this they are asked to assess their chances by examining their school performance over the years. On an average, between 2% and 20% of the sixth formers in an average school are able to gain admission to a university. In spite of the limited opportunities, every single student wants to get a place in a university.

Each year, about 65% of the Malaysian Certificate Examination candidates are awarded full certificates. Of this, only about 30% are eligible to enter sixth-form classes. However, there are only sufficient places for about 10% of these students in the sixth-form classes and thus the remaining 20% either enter the job market or pursue sixth form studies in private or commercial schools with the hope that they will gain a place in the university. While others pursue overseas education on their own, about 1% gains entry into the special preparatory courses at the local universities. About 2% are given government scholarships to study overseas. The Malaysian teachers training colleges are able to accommodate another 3.5% while the polytechnics take in less than 1% of school certificate holders.

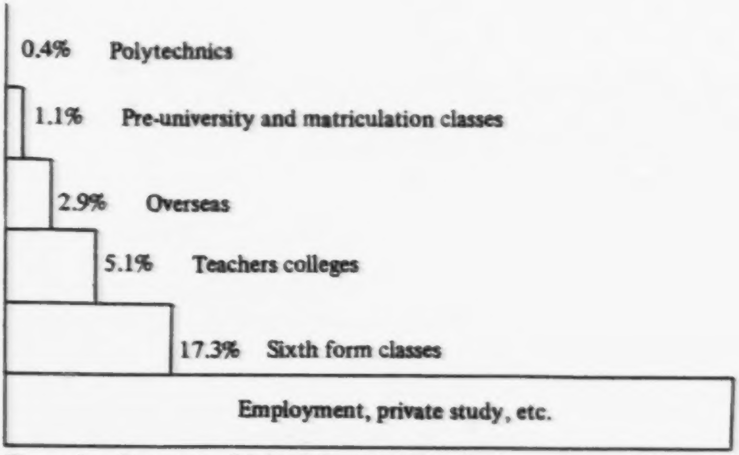
0.4% Polytechnics
1.1% Pre-university and matriculation classes
2.9% Overseas
5.1% Teachers colleges
17.3% Sixth form classes
Employment, private study, etc.

Figure 2: Prospects of School Certificate Holders

The prospects for Malaysian Higher School Certificate holders in gaining entry to the university is not very favourable. In 1982, 54,933 school and private candidates sat for the examination but only about 48% were eligible to enter the local universities. Furthermore, the universities could only accommodate about 30% of those who had the necessary entry qualification. Hence, about 70% had either to enter the job market or re-sit the examination to improve their grades. Some were able to pursue further studies overseas.

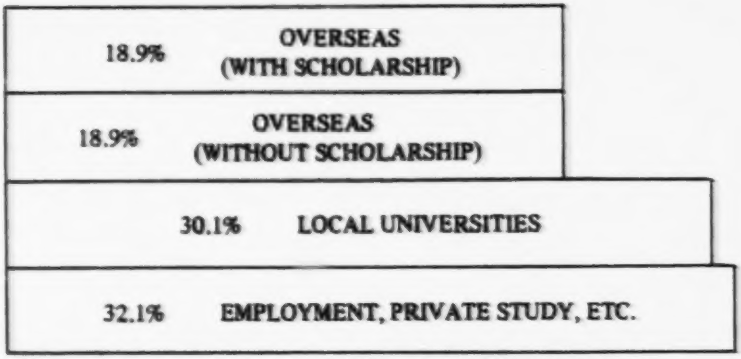

Figure 3: Prospects of Malaysian Higher School Certificate Holders

Malaysian students are so obsessed with the need for a university degree that some of them re-sit the examination five or more times. Private institutions catering for the major public examinations are thriving on this obsession. The university is looked upon as the ultimate goal, as the assurance of security, most prestigious and most fulfilling achievement. Failure to achieve this status is often looked upon as a failure in life. Leaving school at any stage is usually not by choice but by force of circumstances. These students are considered as 'dropouts' rather than as 'graduates' of a certain level of schooling.

Limited Choice of Jobs

Malaysian youth have a very limited knowledge of the jobs available in the country. Most of them are only aware of the prestigious jobs and very few can name more than 50 different occupations. This lack of information is also highlighted in local studies (Yip, 1965; Reutens, 1967; Amir @ Khamis bin Awang, 1970; Lee, 1976; Goon, 1975 and Rahimah Mohd Sura, 1983).

The desire for prestigious jobs are further reinforced by the schools. In their efforts to motivate students to strive hard to achieve success in life, teachers tend to invite professionals such as doctors, lawyers, architects,

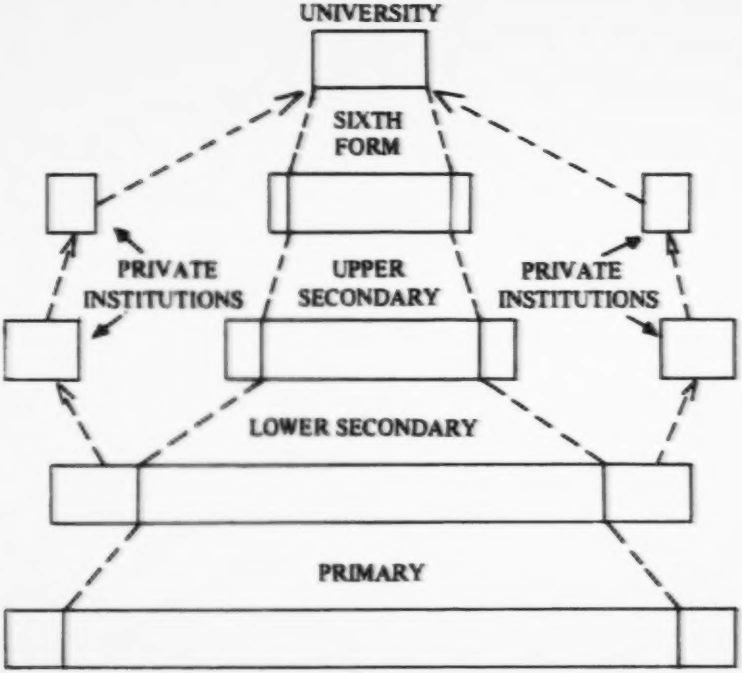

Figure 4: The Scramble for University Places

accountants and engineers to talk to them. Occasionally, university lecturers and members of the armed forces are invited. Such programmes can only strengthen students' desire to attend university because all of the professional jobs require a university education or its equivalent. Since they are not exposed to other types of jobs, their knowledge is only limited to the few prestigious occupations.

Lopsidedness in the Job Structure

Owing to the limited choice of jobs and the overemphasis on university education, the job structure in the Malaysian market has become very lopsided. There is a very large group in the general labour force and a fairly large proportion of semi-skilled workers who acquire their skills mainly through experience. In the middle of this occupational structure, there is a small group of skilled manpower and an even smaller number of semi-professionals. At the top, there is quite a large group of professionals and an even bigger proportion of policy-makers and administrators. Such an occupational structure does not always contribute to effective and efficient services since the professionals and semi-professionals are unable to provide the necessary support to the policy-makers.

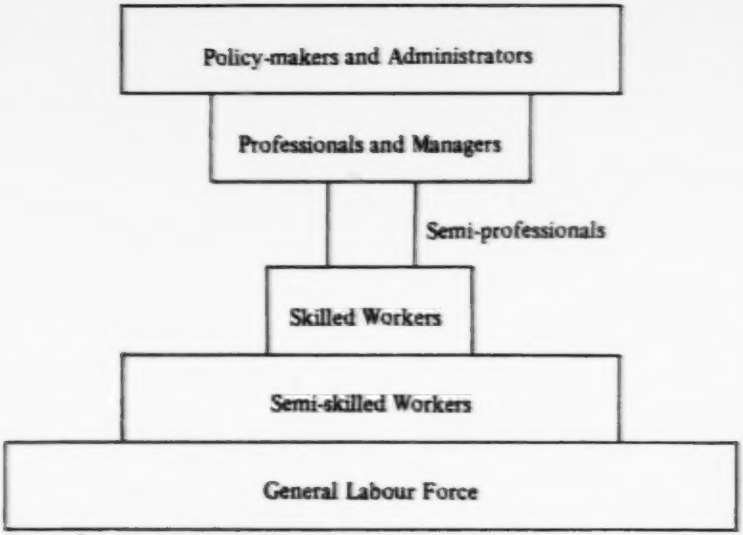
Policy-makers and Administrators
Professionals and Managers
Semi-professionals
Skilled Workers
Semi-skilled Workers
General Labour Force

Figure 5: Distribution of the Malaysian Work Force

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

The personal, educational and vocational problems raised so far do not have simple solutions. They are very complicated and concerted efforts at the family, school and national levels are called for to overcome these problems.

At the Family Level

The family is the first and most important group that influences youth. Young people and their stability depend very heavily on how they have been treated by their parents. Thus, parental involvement is vital in the development of youth.

Concern for Children

Many young people in Malaysia today are neglected by their parents primarily due to changes in family patterns. When young people are in trouble or suffering from stress, parents are often not around to give them the emotional support they need. Young people either have to rely on their friends and siblings or suffer the trauma on their own. This is especially true of those children who are sent to fully residential schools.

Parents, therefore, must make concerted efforts to be with their children as often as possible. For example, meal times should be occasions for family members to be together. The sending of children to school should also be the responsibility of parents. Week-ends should be for the family.

The primary aim is to create occasions for families to be together since opportunities to be together are so limited. Being together provides children with emotional support and stability. Also, it is one of the ways whereby the generation gap can be bridged.

Provide Moral and Religious 'Anchors'

Moral and religious education needs to be provided at home so that children can develop a stable emotional foundation. In times of crisis and when parents are not around to give their support, children can be guided by their moral and religious beliefs. Moral behaviour, unlike religious education, cannot be taught. Moral education is acquired mainly through observation and living within a moral environment. Parents therefore have to be careful in what they do or say at home because children tend to imitate them. In fact, parents have to be constantly aware of their behaviour in front of the children.

Control the Use of the Mass Media

It is very difficult to control what young people read today because materials which are not available at home can be obtained outside it. However, control can be exercised in what they see on television. Television creates an impact on young people as it appeals directly to all of their senses and makes a lasting impression on them. Most of the programmes on television which interest young people are those imported from the West and imbued with Western values. A number of them display moral values which are even questionable in the West itself. Some programmes are very violent while others are extremely romantic.

Young people are not selective in their choices of programmes and values. They imitate what they like, even though the values may be unacceptable to the Malaysian way of life. It is therefore important for parents to watch the programmes with their children and distinguish for the young the difference between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

Also, children should not be allowed to watch anything and everything that is shown on television. Unlimited viewing will only curb their reading habit and interest in hobbies and games. Excessive television viewing affects both their mental alertness as well as physical health.

Reduce Pressure by the Family

Many young people today are encouraged by their parents to succeed academically and even to pursue courses and obtain jobs that may not interest them at all. Such actions on the part of parents put undue pressure on their children. Some young people may cope with such pressures while a majority are likely to suffer or even fail to succeed.

Young people who are over-pressured suffer from dilemmas of various kinds. Although they are aware that they are unlikely to succeed, yet this is not communicated to the parents. This may be due to the fact that they respect their parents or they are too afraid to do so. In cases where the children eventually inform their parents of their inability to fulfil parental wishes, they are reprimanded and greater pressure is subsequently applied. This will, in fact, raise the level of anxiety among children and their chances of success is very much reduced.

In trying to motivate their children, parents must take into consideration their children's interests and strengths. Also, children should be allowed to suggest what they wish to do. If parents disagree with their suggestions, the matter can be discussed further until young people realise or become totally aware of the consequences of their own choices. If parents are unable to offer suggestions, it is advisable to consult friends or family members who can help.

At the School Level

Children spend at least six hours a day at school. If they take part in games or other activities, they may stay on for eight or nine hours a day. This is equivalent to the time taken by adults at their places of work. The school, therefore, is responsible for about half the waking hours of children. Hence, it should shoulder about half of the responsibilities for their upbringing.

Role of the School Is to Educate and Not to Merely Train

Malaysian schools have the tendency to merely train their students and not to educate them. The main emphasis is on the achievement of the school and not of the students. Teachers and students orientate their entire learning programmes towards national examinations. Much time and effort are taken to train students to improve their examination performance so as to ensure success of the school.

It is pointless to try to pinpoint which party is at fault. While parents, blame the school, the school in turn puts the blame on the 'authorities' – meaning the Education departments and the Ministry who, in turn, shifts the responsibility to society and the job market. The feeling is that no one party is totally responsible. We are all to be blamed and equally responsible for the shortcomings in the education system. In fact, we are somewhat trapped in a vicious cycle.

A reduction in the emphasis on pure academic achievement is needed. Children normally have a wide range of academic potentials. Their intelligence quotient may range from as low as 70 to as high as 150 and more. What all of us are trying to do is to make everyone succeed beyond what most of them are capable of. To succeed in the Lower Certificate of Education (after three years of secondary education), children need to perform at a level equal to those who perhaps have IQ's of around 100. If they want to succeed at the School Certificate level (after five years of secondary education), then they may have to perform at an even higher IQ level. If children who do not have this potential attempt to sit such examinations, they are bound to fail. Their chances may not improve even if they try again.

Students who do not possess good academic potentials often excel in other non-academic areas. They may be very capable with their hands and do well in sports, cultural pursuits and other areas which do not require reading or studying. Such areas need to be emphasised and given recognition within the school curriculum.

In giving students a varied programme within the school, the pressure to succeed in academic work only will be reduced. It also gives students a feeling of satisfaction and pride, and may lead to greater intrinsic motivation and interests in their studies. Students then will be better educated and better prepared to 'face the world'.

Increase the Youth's Awareness of the Employment World

It is the school's responsibility to help students become more aware of the employment world. This can be done in a number of ways.

Talks on careers should be held regularly in school. These talks should be given by speakers of different occupations and should not be confined to professionals such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects and accountants. Students must be exposed to a wide range of occupations such as factory managers, police officers and hospital matrons to enable them to choose careers relevant to their abilities.

Career exhibitions can be organised in a school once or twice a year. Posters, films and slides relating to various kinds of jobs should be shown. Also, representatives from various organisations can be invited to answer queries on jobs within their establishments. These exhibitions may be organised on a small scale in the individual school or on a fairly large scale at the district level.

Career information, a responsibility of the school, is to be provided by the guidance teacher and the class teachers. A notice board on careers with information from the newspapers, career booklets and career sheets from organisations will be useful. The board can be subdivided into different levels of education so that students can ascertain clearly what jobs are available for their educational qualification.

Job description sheets must be changed regularly. The information can be acquired through the parents, relatives and friends of the students themselves. Parents can also be invited to talk to the children on the type and nature of their jobs. This can be done during the period after tests or examinations.

There is a need to *humanise Malaysian schools*. Today, the school in Malaysia is a very 'cold', 'dehumanised' and 'spartan-like'. Nearly all of the programmes in the school are aimed at satisfying group rather than individual needs. Students are treated *en-masse* or as groups. The learning process, sports and cultural and co-curricular activities and other programmes are carried out in groups. Individuals are ignored and they are not encouraged to display their individualism. As a result, students look upon the school as an alien institution. They do not feel that they belong to the school and that the school belongs to them. The school is not an attractive place for them.

Even the classroom where they spend most of their time does not seem attractive. They are not motivated to look after or to beautify their classroom. This is partly due to the fact that classrooms are used by the students of both the morning and afternoon sessions.

The classrooms are often very bare, with broken desks and chairs stacked at the back. Also the soft boards and the blackboards are not looked after and sometimes there are punch-holes in them. Study materials, charts or other teaching aids are not displayed in the classrooms. The classroom windows are sometimes without glass panes. Students often have to learn in a hot environment within a crowded classroom. The ceiling fans quite often do not work or if they do, their speed is so fast that students find it difficult to keep the pages from flapping.

Students themselves are largely to be blamed for some of the destruction in the classrooms. The destruction is a manifest of their frustrations brought about by several factors. One of them is the pressure school and parents impose upon them. The Departments of Education put pressure on headmasters who, in turn, exert pressure on the teachers to produce good examination results. This pressure to succeed is passed on to the student who have no one to impose their pressure on except the desks, chairs, cupboards, softboards, blackboards, windows, and other items in the classroom. Schools therefore must improve the student's attitudes towards school and schooling. Class teachers should make greater efforts to get to know the forty to fifty students in their class. They should know their students by name, where they live and who their parents are. It is useful for teachers to meet parents to discuss the progress of their children. This can be done by inviting parents to collect their children's report cards in school and at parent-teacher gatherings. Parents, teachers and students can be brought together by organising project days at the school, fun fair, canteen day, 'cleaning and repair' day, joggathon or walkathon and sports day.

To humanise the school further and to involve parents in school activities, the talents of parents should not be ignored. The school can involve parents by inviting those with coaching knowledge to help school teams, with musical knowledge to train the students in music, and with artistic and technical skills to demonstrate their know-how to students.

One other suggestion is to place every young student in the charge of two senior students – one from the middle level and one from the top level of schooling. The three of them can meet at least once a week to discuss the study and personal problems of the junior student. This method will help the junior student understand his lessons better and provide all of them with a sense of utility and feeling of usefulness and belongingness. A special period should be allocated for this purpose so that teachers can assist if help is required.

At the National Level

At this level, we should aim at reducing the strong desire to go to the university as this will only perpetuate the existing occupational structure which has a high concentration of policy-makers, administrators and professionals. It should be more pyramidal in shape as shown in Figure 7.

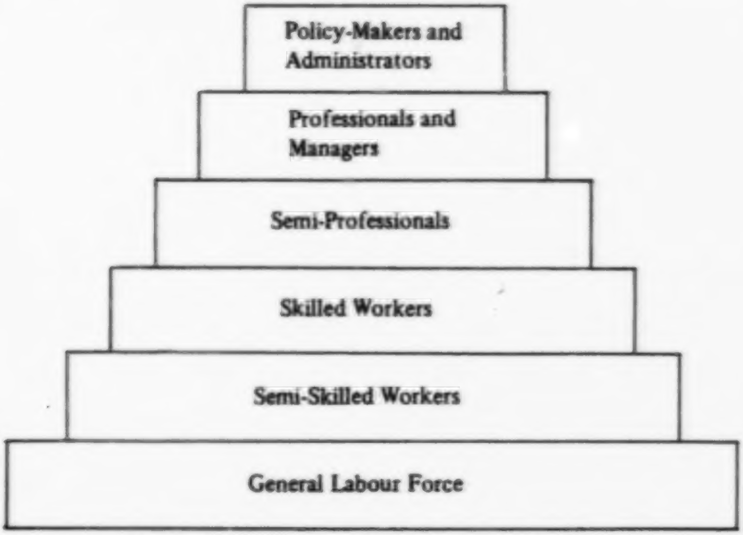

Figure 6: The Ideal Distribution of the Malaysian Work Force

The pressure for university places should not be met by building more universities or by sending students to universities abroad. Such actions will never be able to satisfy for all times and demand for tertiary education. Given that the number of university places falls short of the number who are eligible for an university education, the tendency is for the universities to enrol the top students. The majority of the university aspirants are thus 'forced' to enter the job market. Some are admitted to institutions which offer professional and practical training. In fact, these are the institutions that can enhance students' chances of success in the labour market in view of the shortage of skilled and semi-professional workers.

Presently, institutions offering professional and practical training are limited in number. Such institutions include the MARA Institute of Technology, the Tunku Abdul Rahman College, four polytechnics and a number of small privately-run institutions. The number of such institutions needs to be increased to cater for alternative training programmes and meet manpower needs (Figure 8). For every one university, there ought to be at least three colleges and polytechnics, and several institutes for technical and business training.

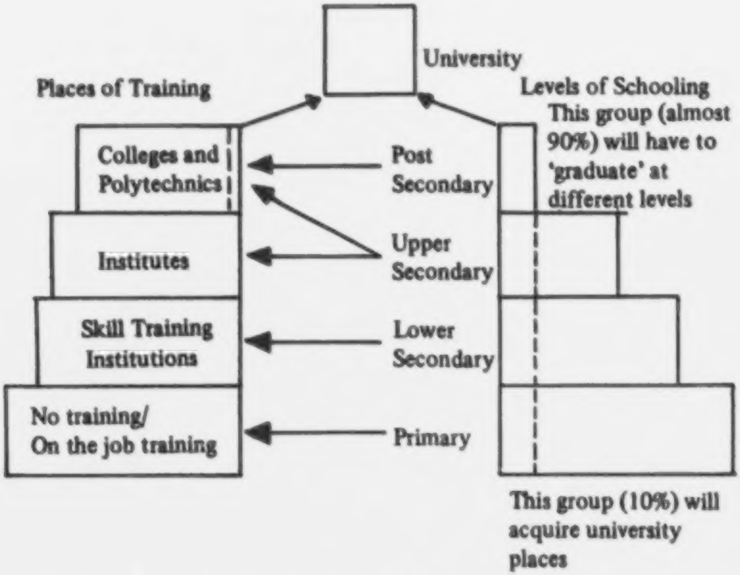
University
Places of Training
Levels of Schooling
This group (almost 90%) will have to 'graduate' at different levels
Colleges and Polytechnics
Post Secondary
Institutes
Upper Secondary
Skill Training Institutions
Lower Secondary
No training/ On the job training
Primary
This group (10%) will acquire university places

Figure 7: Alternative Training Institutions for Students from Different Levels of Schooling

CONCLUSION

Malaysia is a progressive country which is experiencing changes in the political, social, economic and even religious spheres. A sector of the population that is undergoing considerable change is the Malaysian youth. Considerable pressure is placed on young people to succeed in life. A university education is often perceived to be their main or even only ticket to success in the world of work. Consequently, there is an excessive demand for university places and if students fail to acquire a place at their first attempt, they will try and try until they succeed. It is for this reason that measures must be taken at the family, school and national levels to ensure that youth are given more chances and better alternatives in preparing themselves for work and a place in society.

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SYMPOSIUM V B : Sex Roles

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Colleen Ward*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. Moses Samuel*

Towards Active Participation of Fathers/Father-Surrogates in Our Child-Rearing Practices

Sokhong Lua

INTRODUCTION

Recently, there has been considerable concern regarding the role of fathers during childbirth. Such concern has led new trends in child-rearing practices; topics on 'fathering/fatherhood' are appearing increasingly in the titles of books and magazines (Lamb, 1981; Beail and McGuire, 1982). It is time for us to explore and investigate the traditional but underestimated role of fathers/father-surrogates in child-care. This is because too much emphasis has been given to the maternal role in child-care which has achieved much publicity and hence made considerable impact upon notions of child-rearing practices.

A great landmark in this issue of maternal role in child-care was Bowlby's (1951) monograph on mental care and mental health which was written on behalf of the World Health Organisation as a contribution to the United Nations programme for the welfare of homeless children. Bowlby advanced the point of view that children deprived of their mother's care or that of a permanent mother substitute during their first two years of life are likely to suffer intellectually, physically or emotionally from such deprivation. In his monograph on mental care and mental health, Bowlby stated that:

> What is believed to be essential for mental health is that the infant and young children should experience a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother sub-

> stitute) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment. Given this relationship, the emotion of anxiety and guilt, which in excess characterize mental ill-health, will develop in a moderate and organised way (Bowlby, 1951).

During the years that followed, investigators from a wide variety of fields or disciplines have painstakingly elaborated the process by which children become attached to their mothers and the detrimental effects of maternal deprivation. This overemphasised views of maternal care has resulted in a relatively little known fact and almost neglected area regarding the role of fathers in child-care. Child-care publications are directed almost wholly to mothers; mothers are simply more accessible than fathers to researchers, confining the studies of child-rearing practices within the framework of mother-child relationship. However, with the rapidity of change in social values, the changing nature of sex-roles and the growth of the Women's Liberation Movement in the Western countries, researchers have diverted their attention to the importance of fathers in child-rearing practices. During the 1970s, the major growth in research on fathering/fatherhood occurred and since then, such changes in the conceptualisation of fatherhood holds great significance for child-rearing practices. In his book *Maternal Deprivation Reassessed*, Rutter (1982) provides research findings which refute many of Bowlby's views and hence question the existing theories of child-care. It is encouraging to see such apparent shift in interests given to the role that fathers play in their child's life.

Rutter (1979) reported that the patterns of family life in Western countries have changed during recent years. For instance, many mothers of young children go out to work and young children are looked after by child-minder or placed in day-care centres. With the increase rate of divorce, children are being brought up by single-parent. It appears that such changing values and structures of family life have also occurred in most Asian countries even though Asian society is still dominantly characterised as 'mother-centred' in its child-rearing practices – traditional family life in which the father goes out to work and the mother stays at home to look after the children. The scale and speed of change is increasing rapidly in Asian cities such as Kuala Lumpur whereby women, single or married/mothers, constitute a sizeable proportion of the workforce. The figures quoted from the *Report of the Labour Force Survey 1979* (Table 1) indicates such trends. Jolly, a British paediatrician, called for a change in Malaysian attitudes toward fatherhood and child-care when he delivered a lecture on the role of fathers in Kuala Lumpur (*The Malay Mail*, 1983). This call for change is strongly supported and there is an urgent need to re-examine and re-assess our child-rearing practices. It seems that until we change our attitudes especially regarding the traditional underestimated role of fathers/father-surrogates, it is unlikely that improvement in our child-care will be achieved.

Table 1
Percentage Distribution of Employed Persons (Female)
by Occupations in Peninsular Malaysia

Occupations	Year	
	1975	1979
Professional and 'techincal	34.9	39.3
Administrative and managerial	3.7	6.0
Clerical	35.8	42.1
Sales	2 6.7	28.3
Service workers	45.2	45.3
Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing and hunting	41.2	43.1
production, transport, equipment, operators Labourers	24.4	24.4

Source. *Report of the Labour Force Survey* 1979 (Ministry of Labour and Manpower, Malaysia).

SURVEY

The present study was undertaken as an exploratory investigation of parental attitudes toward child-rearing practices. This study also represents an attempt to investigate and analyse the nature and extent of involvement of Malaysian fathers in child case. Generally, the study hopes to reflect this current upsurge of interest regarding the role of fathers in child-rearing practices.

RESULTS

The design of the survey was relatively simple and an interviews schedule was used. Interviews were conducted with mothers and fathers during the visiting hours at the Kuala Lumpur General Hospital Maternity Ward. The subjects interviewed were picked at random. Another group of subjects comprised medical students from the National University of Malaysia and they were asked to answer the same questionnaires. Questions asked were specifically concerned with the roles anticipated by men (married/single) and women (married/single) in the child-rearing practices

The total number of subjects who participated in the survey was 69 and they were divided into four groups, namely (1) male married group (n=18); (2) male single group (unmarried, n=17); (3) female married group (n-20) and (4) female single group (unmarried, n=14). The sample was small since the selection of the subjects for the survey was dependent on the number present at the time when the interview was conducted.

Table 2 provides data on the roles anticipated in child-care. A point of interest arising from the survey is the generality of the findings, that is, child-care is still considered as a 'woman's domain'. In other words, traditional stereotyped conceptualisation of child-care that is confined exclusively to the mother-child relationship is still a widely-held view. A significant number of subjects of both sexes regards mothers/female as more capable of looking after children; fathers/male are perceived as less competent in this respect. However, it is noteworthy that the experience of having children seems to have altered the attitudes toward child-care. In the survey sample, 17% of male married group/fathers and 10% of female married group/mothers interviewed considered fathers/male as more capable of looking after children as compared to the male single group and female single group who have yet to have children of their own. These are the groups that seem to be strongly influenced by the traditional view of child-care. Similarly, 83% of male married group think that they can become 'mother-substitute' to the children whereas only 41% of male single group feel that they can perform such a role. It seems here that father's/male's perception of their capability to look after children is affected by the experience of having children themselves, that is, relevant prior experience of child-care.

Table 2
Roles Anticipated in Child-Care

(A) Involvement in child-care

Degree of Involvement	Males				Females			
	Married		Single		Married		Single	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
More involvement	1	6	1	6	10	50	7	50
Equal involvement	16	88	14	82	10	50	7	50
Less involvement	1	6	2	12	0	0	0	0
Total	18	100	17	100	20	100	14	100

(B) Capability in child-care

Degree of Capability	Males				Females			
	Married		Single		Married		Single	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Father is more capable	3	17	0	0	2	10	0	0
Mother is more capable	12	66	14	82	18	90	11	79
Both parents are capable	0	0	3	18	0	0	3	21
Do not know	3	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	18	100	17	100	20	100	14	100

Table 2 (contd.)

(C) Mother substitute in child-care

Degree of Mother-Substitute	Males				Females			
	Married		Single		Married		Single	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	15	83	7	41	13	65	10	72
No	3	17	7	41	7	35	3	21
Do not know	0	0	3	18	0	0	1	7
Total	18	100	17	100	20	100	14	100

(D) Equal partnership in child-care

Equal Partnership	Males				Females			
	Married		Single		Married		Single	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	16	89	17	100	18	90	13	93
No	2	11	0	0	2	10	1	7
Do not know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	18	100	17	100	20	100	14	100

(E) More active role in child-care

Degree of Active Role	Males				Females			
	Married		Single		Married		Single	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Father should take a more active role	2	11	1	6	1	5	1	27
Mother should take a more active role	6	33	8	47	7	35	6	43
Both parents should take an active role	10	56	8	47	12	60	7	50
Total	18	100	17	100	20	100	14	100

Table 2 (contd.)

(F) Looking after the child full-time

Looking After the Child Full-Time by Subject/Subjects Wife/Women	Males				Females			
	Married		Single		Married		Single	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	13	72	10	59	13	65	6	45
No	5	28	7	41	7	35	6	43
Do not know	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14
Total	18	100	17	100	20	100	14	100

(G) Presence at child-birth

Presence At Child-Birth	Males				Females			
	Married		Single		Married		Single	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	15	83	9	53	14	70	12	86
No	3	17	8	47	6	30	2	14
Total	18	100	17	100	20	100	14	100

(H) Paternity leave

Paternity Leave	Males				Females			
	Married		Single		Married		Single	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	13	72	13	76	17	85	13	93
No	5	28	4	24	3	15	1	7
Total	18	100	17	100	20	100	14	100

(I) Men are more responsible and patient towards the child's needs

Men Are More Responsible and Patient Towards Child's Needs	Males				Females			
	Married		Single		Married		Single	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	10	56	2	12	14	70	4	29
No	8	44	15	88	6	30	10	71
Total	18	100	17	100	20	100	14	100

Regarding the issue of involvement in child-care, 88% of male married group and 82% of male single group felt that there should be equal involvement between wife/mother and husband/father in child-care. However, only half of the female group (married/single) agreed to equal involvement in child-care. The other 50% of the female group (married/single) indicated their need to be more involved in child-care. They appeared to be reluctant to negotiate or compromise on the involvement that can be contributed by fathers/male in the bringing up of children. In a way, this may indicate their failure to acknowledge the role of fathers/male in child-care. Yet, they agreed to equal partnership in the upbringing of children (female married group = 90%; female single group = 93%) and that both parents should take an active role in child-care. Similarly, a significant number of fathers/male agreed to equal partnership in child-care. However, a unique role for fathers as described by the male group (married/single) interviewed in the survey is that of a 'play-mate' to their children. Thus the responsibility of fathers would not be one of directly caring and looking after children. Fathers seem to be able to play with their children more than mothers who tend to do more child-care such as feeding and also fulfilling the child's other basic needs. Most of the female married group felt that the children are more attached to their fathers.

Even though there is an incompatibility between fathers/male and mothers/female regarding the maternal role in child-care, all groups interviewed agreed that mothers/female should look after the children full-time. On a practical level, financial constraints force mothers/female to join the workforce in society. Therefore, there are two groups of mothers/female, namely (1) those who do not wish to go out to work but are forced to do so by economic circumstances and (2) those who prefer to work anyway. On the whole, there is no significant evidence to suggest an association between married male/female groups and the types of wife (full-time housewife/worker) at the 5% significance level.

There tends to be no difference in emphasis between male and female subjects with regard to the reading of child-care books. Most of the subjects interviewed (married/single) mentioned that they had at least read one child-care book. Most of the married men said that they would not go out of their way to buy or search for books on child-care unless they were available in their homes.

Table 3
Chi-Square 2 x 2 Contingency Tables

(A) Comparison of male subjects (married group) with their preference of type of wife

Type of Wife	Married Male Subjects Whose Wife Is Either:	
	Full-Time Housewife	Full-Time Worker
Full-time housewife	8	5
Full-time worker	2	3

Note. Chi-square = 0.101*. For Table 3A, 3B and 3C, the acceptable level of significance is 0.05. The degree of freedom is 1.

(B) Comparison of female subjects (married group) with their preference

Preference	Married Female Subjects	Who Are Either:-
	Full-Time Housewife	Full-Time Worker
Full-time housewife	4	9
Full-time worker	2	5

(C) Comparison of the sex of subjects (male = 35; female = 34) with reading of child-care books

Reading Child-Care Books	Sex	
	Male	Female
Yes	21	21
No	14	13

Over 70% of all the groups in the survey agreed that fathers/husbands should be given paid paternity leave to be with their wives during child-birth and also the first few days of the baby's life. Paternity leave should be between 6 to 8 days; the main reason given included the need to be with their wives during the arrival of the baby and most mothers/female welcome such moral support from the fathers/male. Similarly, over 70% of the groups, except the male single group, would like to be present at child-birth. A total of 47% of the male single group would prefer not to be around during child-birth. The viewpoint that men are more responsible and patient toward the child's needs was expressed by a majority of the female married group (70%) and male married group (56%) as compared to only male single group (12%) and female single group (29%). This indicates again the effects of having children which tend to change a person's attitudes and perception of child-rearing practices. As indicated in Table 4, a significant number of subjects perceive the change of male role in Malaysian child-care as compared to the situation ten years ago.

Table 4
Comparison of the Change of Male Role in Child-Care

Subjects	No. Responding	Percentage Indicating	
		Change of Male Role	No Change of Male Role
Male			
Married	18	83.3	16.7
Single	17	76.5	23.5
Female			
Married	20	80.0	20.0
Single	14	78.6	21.4

Note. Total number of male and female is 35 and 34 respectively.

CLINICAL CASES

The Multidisciplinary Assessment Team (MAT) attached to the Medical Faculty, National University of Malaysia provides an interdisciplinary approach to the prevention, diagnosis, assessment and management of developmental disabilities. The team comprises a paediatrician, psychologist, speech therapist, dietician, occupational therapist, education officer from the Ministry of Education and welfare officer from the Wilayah Social Welfare Department.

Table 5 shows the classification of referral cases by MAT as recorded from 11 March, 1982 to 18 August, 1983. The total number of referred cases was 127, 80 boys as compared to 47 girls. A larger number of boys referred has been classified as having behavioural problems that include anxiety, fears, poor social-peer relationship, aggressive behaviour and autistic behaviour. Similarly, 27 cases of boys referred were diagnosed as having known organic/genetic cause and 23 cases were diagnosed as having specific speech delay. In contrast, 18 cases and 10 cases of girls referred were classified as having known organic/genetic cause and specific speech delay respectively. There is little difference in other classifications of the problems referred between boys and girls.

The National University of Malaysia's Paediatric Department of Psychological Service was started only in July, 1983. The cases referred to the Service are mainly for the psychological evaluation of the child's abilities. Usually, the specific problems of the referred child has been diagnosed by the referral agency, that is, specialists of the Neurosurgery Department. Since the service was started recently, only 37 cases were recorded from 1 August, 1983 to 28 October, 1983. Out of this small number of cases, there was almost an equal number of boys and girls (19 boys and 18 girls). However, there is an interesting comparison of the family background of

Table 5
Referral Cases of the Multidisciplinary Assessment Team (MAT) and Paediatric Department of Psychological Services of the National University of Malaya

Classifications	MAT				Paediatric Dept. of Psychological Service			
	Sex of Subjects				Sex of Subjects			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Behavioural Problems – (anxiety, fears, poor social-peer relationship)	14	11.0	5	3.9	5	13.5	4	10.8
Known Organic/ Genetic Cause (Down's syndrome, minimal brain damage)	27	21.3	18	11.2	4	10.8	5	13.5
Specific Speech Delay	23	18.1	10	7.9	4	10.8	1	2.7
Poor School Progress/Slow Learner	2	1.6	2	1.6	3	8.1	7	19.0
Global Mental Retardation	5	3.9	8	6.3	2	5.4	1	2.7
Child Abuse	1	0.9	0	0	1	2.7	0	0
Unclassified/ Ambiguous Cases	8	6.3	4	3.0	0	0	0	0
Total	80		47		19		18	

Note. Multidisciplinary Assessment Team referral cases as recorded from 11 March, 1982 to 18 August, 1983 where N = 127. National University of Malaya's Paediatrics Department of Psychological Services referral cases as recorded from 1 August, 1983 to 28 October, 1983 where N = 37.

the cases referred at the Psychological Service. A total of 24 cases were from families where mothers were full-time housewives and only 7 cases were from working mothers. Information could not be gathered for 6 cases regarding the status of mothers, that is, whether they were working or full-time housewives.

RESEARCH ON FATHERING

Research on fathering results from a growing concern with the psychological, social and economic disadvantages often suffered by fatherless children. However, it is important to note that father-absence *per se* does not necessarily lead to developmental deficits and/or causes the father-absent child to be inferior in psychological functioning relative to the father-present child. A child does not necessarily have to be separated from his/her father to suffer from paternal deprivation. Paternal deprivation is a term that can be used to include various inadequacies a child experiences with his/her father or father-surrogate. It can be in the context of total father-absence or separation from the father for some extended period of time. On the other hand, paternal deprivation can also occur when the father is available or present but there is relatively no meaningful father-child relationship.

In this review, research on fathering/paternal deprivation, namely, paternal influence and cognitive functioning, moral development and effects of paternal power on identification and sex-typing is discussed. Studies concerning father-absence and cognitive functioning (Kimball, 1952; Shaw and White, 1965; Radin, 1972; Blanchard and Biller, 1971) have indicated the adverse effects of such absence on children's cognitive functioning. In this instance, Santrock (1972) found that early father-absence can have a very significant debilitating effect on cognitive functioning. In his study, Santrock included children from lower-class junior high and high school children and he found that: (1) children whose father was absent before the age of five scored significantly lower on measures of IQ and achievement that had been administered when they were in the 3rd and 6th grade (2) the most detrimental effect occurred when father-absence was due to divorce, desertion or separation rather than due to death (3) there was some support for positive remedial effects of a stepfather for boys especially when the stepfather/father surrogate joined the family before the child was five years old. Lessing, Zagorin and Nelson (1970), in their study of father-absence and cognitive functioning, reported additional evidence, that there exists a rather complex interaction between father-absence and social class, that is, middle-class children did not appear to be as handicapped by father-absence whereas among working-class children, those who were experiencing father-absence performed at a generally lower level in their verbal functioning as well as on perceptual-motor and manipulative-spatial tasks than did those who were experiencing father-presence. It has been argued that if a relationship does hold between father-absence and certain types of cognitive functioning, father-absence *per se* is only one of the many variables responsible for such a relationship. The values of the mother, siblings and peer groups are extremely important. Among children in the lower class, father-absence usually intensifies a lack of exposure to certain cognitive functioning. In addition, many boys in their masculine over-compensation perceive intellectual tasks and school in general as 'feminine'. The school situation which presents women as authority figures with strong demands for obedience and conformity is a great contrast to boys' conscious values and desperate attempt to feel masculine. According to Biller (1971), many of these boys develop an almost phobic reaction concerning intellectual matters.

Another area of paternal deprivation that has been studied is moral development. In his study, Hoffman (1971) compared father-absence and father-presence groups, controlling for sex, IQ and social class, regarding their moral attributes and overt aggression. All subjects were 7th grade white children and the data obtained was based on structural and semi-projective items and ratings by parents, teachers and peers. Hoffman found that father-absent boys obtained lower scores for all the moral indexes – significantly lower for internal moral judgement, maximum guilt following transgressions, acceptance of blame, moral value and rule conformity. In addition, father-absent boys were rated by teachers as more aggressive than father-present boys. On the other hand, no difference was observed beween father-absent girls and father-present girls.

Evidence of the effects of paternal power on identification and sex-typing are remarkably consistent. For instance, Hetherington (1965) found that boys who view their fathers as competent and dominant in dispensing rewards and punishments are similar to their fathers. Furthermore, they are more masculine than boys who view their fathers as lacking in these characteristics. However, maternal dominance appears to be particularly disruptive for identification and sex-typing in boys. In contrast, parental dominance (maternal or paternal) is not related to femininity in girls although dominance in fathers facilitates girls' cross-sex identification on non-sex typed traits. Girls with powerful mothers or fathers are equally feminine but those with dominant fathers acquire some of their father's traits which are appropriate to both boys and girls such as a good sense of humour and friendliness. Thus, the role of fathers is so central to identification theories of sex-typing that a corollary assumption is often made that where the father is absent, boys remain mother-identified and likely to develop feminine sex-social characteristics and latent or even overt homosexual tendencies. Indeed, studies of the effects of father-absence (Lynn and Sawrey, 1959; Biller and Borstelmann, 1967; Hetherington, 1966) have suggested the development of inappropriate sex-typing. However, it has been argued that these studies have been limited to young children and the effect of very short period of father-absence. The effects of prolonged father-absence on sex-typing in the adolescent or adult have not been systematically determined and the results obtained have been less consistent than those in younger children. Another point that needs to be mentioned in the studies of father-absence and sex-role development is the possible effects of differences in maternal encouragement of masculine behaviour among father-absent boys. Results obtained by Biller (1969) in his study of father-absence, maternal encouragement and sex-role development in kindergarten boys indicated that in father-absent boys, maternal encouragement of masculine behaviour appears to affect sex-role preference and sex-role adoption. Other factors that have to be taken into consideration include the timing (age onset of father-absence), length of father-absence, socio-cultural milieu and relative availability of surrogate models, that is, father-surrogates including grandfathers, uncles, male-neighbours or even elder brothers.

DISCUSSION

Despite an increasing flexibility in the roles and activities considered permissible for each sex, for instance, similarity of educational experiences of girls and boys from kindergarten through the secondary school system, fathers doing the dishes, cleaning the house and carrying out other domestic tasks which traditionally considered exclusively as 'feminine', mothers holding jobs outside the home and girls and women adopt 'masculine' clothing (wearing jeans) and hair-style (short hair-cut), there is evidence that traditional sex-role stereotypes are still pervasive in Malaysian society. It seems that Malaysian men and women, on the whole, still hold to the traditional view that child-rearing practice is largely a woman/female responsibility. The findings of the study have been quite consistent in showing no significant differences between male and female subjects with respect to their role anticipation in child-care based on the assumption that mothers/female have greater effect on child-development. On the other hand, fathers/male role in the development of the child, especially early child-development, is of dubious importance.

It is tempting for Malaysian society to continue to regard child-care as a 'woman's role' in spite of the fact that there have been role changes in child-care. Even though fathers/male find themselves in conflict with mothers/female over their role in child-care, these problems usually remain implicit rather than explicit. In discussing the issue, the intention is not role-reversal or exhange of roles of fathers and mothers in child-care. Rather, it is intended to demonstrate that the Malaysian society, in general, underestimates the important contribution of fathers/male in child-care. Fathers should seek to function more effectively in their roles and father, mother and child need to know how to work as a team, how to share duties and how to cope with their child's rapid and/or delayed development. According to Beail (1983), 'we should seek moves towards approaches which encompass all family interaction, where parenting means parenting and not just mothering'. Research on fathering as reviewed in this paper has resulted in the growing acceptance of the role of fathers and its implications on the development of children.

Differences in parents' behaviour towards boys and girls from infancy to adolescence are well-documented. For instance, Droppleman and Schaeffer (1963) found that parents give boys more independence as well as punishment than girls. Hence, it is obvious that mothers and fathers play different roles toward their children and that the exact roles which each plays varies according to the sex of the child. Parents project on to children the disposition and orientations appropriate to male or famale sex-roles. Besides that, parents respond to behaviour in terms of the sex-role identity they attribute to their children and, in this way, create in them an awareness of their attributed sex-role identification. However, the masculine role is more difficult for boys to learn since it involves a shift away from the mother as an appropriate adult model and that the father's role model is relatively unavailable since it is considered to be of dubious importance. Fathers may tend to play a more significant role in the latter part of the child's life than the early years in the child's development. On the other hand, women tend to play too dominant a role during the early years of the child's development since he or she is being looked after by female-figure (mothers/grandmothers/women caretakers). Later, when the child enters nursery/kindergarten/primary school, the whole situation is again dominated by female figures. Malaysian classroom situations tend to be too feminised. Again, if the child is hospitalised, he/she will be looked after by the female nurses (there are very few/or hardly any male nurses in Malaysia). Attention is drawn to the clinical cases referred to MAT that should be of concern to us all since 60% of the referral cases are boys. Indeed, arguments about the question of the relative contribution and impact of fathers on their sons' problematic behaviour, especially delinquency, have received much attention from sociologists who have contributed some of the most significant research concerning father's role in child-rearing practices. This indicates that there is more to the parent-child relationship than that which involves only mother-child relationship. McKee and O'Brien argue that 'it is not enough for research merely to turn from mothers to fathers since this can only be a short term and remedial strategy'. Thus, the need to evaluate the role of fathers in child-care still remains a relevant issue.

Finally, it is important to bear in mind again that the findings reported in this study are related to the sample only. It is hoped that this broad introductory survey will draw 'public attention' to questions regarding the role of Malaysian fathers in child-rearing practices which remains to be a neglected and underestimated area that needs further investigation within the Asian context. There should be a shift from a traditional method of child-care orientation towards active participation of fathers/father-surrogates in order to achieve improvement and progressive changes in our child-rearing practices.

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Variations in Marital Role Expectations Among Adolescents of Three Indian Sub-Cultures **

P.K. Dhillon and Shereen Pestonjee

The present research is an attempt to study the influence of child-rearing practices in three sub-cultures (Bengali, Tamilian and Andhrite) on marital role expectations. The total sample consisted of 240 adolescents within the age range of 15–18 years. Of these, 80 adolescents (40 males and 40 females) belonged to each of the three sub-cultures. These adolescents were drawn from the middle income group (lower-middle, middle-middle and upper-middle) and were studying in classes IX, X, XI or XII in schools of their own sub-cultures (Bengali, Andhra and Tamil) in Delhi.

The instrument used was 'The marriage role expectation inventory' by Marie Dunn. It reveals, evaluates and compares the expectations of the self and the marriage partner in seven areas of behaviour – authority, home-making, care of children, personal characteristics, social participation, education and employment, and support.

A 3x2x2 factorial design (3 sub-cultures, 2 sexes, and variable divided into 2 parts – equalitarian and traditional) with repeated measures on the last factor was used to analyse the data. The results indicate the following findings: (a) there are significant differences in the adolescents of the three sub-cultures (Bengali, Tamilian and Andhrite) on three sub-factors (authority, home-making and care of children) of the marital role expectations (b) male and female adolescents in the three sub-cultures differ significantly on the overall marital role expectation scores and on many of its sub-factors (c) there are significant differences in the equalitarian and traditional ways of thinking of adolescents, on the overall marital role expectations and all seven sub-factors. The results of the first order and second order interactions are discussed in the light of child-rearing practices and different findings.

SYMPOSIUM V C : Values: Relations and Implications

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Adolescence: Socialisation Issues and the Impact of Values

Jan de Wit

Some issues that are related to the socialisation process in adolescence will be considered in this paper. By giving two examples from recent literature, some changes in the concepts that are used in socialisation-research generally and in the moral development domain particularly are discussed. With respect to these conceptual changes, two questions of special importance are raised. The first deals with the problem of cross-cultural validity of the outcomes of socialisation-research; the second refers to the rather complicated problem in which built-in biases in our models and concepts of human development can influence our thinking on development. Finally, observations are made with respect to the possible implications of these new developments in relation to our conception of adolescent development in a changing culture.

In order to demonstrate some changes in our conceptualisation of styles of parenting, reference is made to the early work (around 1960) on parental characteristics. Very well known are the models designed by Schaefer (1959) and Becker (1964) who ordered parental behaviour in terms of a fourfold typology of parenting based on two major dimensions. The dimensions are:

(1) warmth/love – hostility/rejection; and
(2) restrictiveness/control – permissiveness/autonomy.

This categorisation was derived from the child-rearing studies during the 1950s.

However, concepts concerning the salient dimensions of parenting have undergone considerable change since the publication of the above works.

This is due partly to the more sophisticated research methods e.g. observations of parent-child interactions which produced more specific data and perhaps because of some factual changes in parenting styles under the influence of the so-called Zeitgeist i.e. changing social or economic conditions. Reviewing the recent research findings, Maccoby and Martin (1983) arrive at a more differentiated dimensional picture of parenting styles as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Interactions in the Consequences of Warmth Versus Hostility and Restrictiveness Versus Permissiveness

Dimensions	Restrictiveness	Permissiveness
Warmth	Submissive, dependent, polite, neat, obedient (Levy)	Active, socially outgoing, creative, successfully aggressive (Baldwin)
	Minimal aggression (Sears)	Minimal rule enforcement, boys (Maccoby)
	Maximum rule enforcement, boys (Maccoby)	Facilitates adult role taking (Levin)
	Dependent, not friendly, not creative (Watson)	Minimal self-aggression, boys (Sears)
	Maximal compliance (Meyers)	Independent, friendly, creative, low projective hostility (Watson)
Hostility	'Neurotic' problems (clinical studies)	Delinquency (Gluecks, Bandura and Walters)
	More quarrelling and shyness with peers (Watson)	Non-compliance (Meyers)
	Socially withdrawn (Baldwin)	Maximal aggression (Sears)
	Low in adult role taking (Levin)	
	Maximal self-aggression, boys (Sears)	

Source. Becker (1964), p. 198.

The first dimension of parenting behaviour is accepting/responsive/child-centred versus rejecting/unresponsive/parent-centred. The second dimension is demanding/controlling versus undemanding/versus undemanding/low in control attempts. These more recent conceptualisations are interesting in many respects.

The first dimension is whether parental responsiveness is considered as contingent reinforcement ('shaping' the child by responding differentially to desired and undesired behaviour) or merely as parental sensitivity and adaptation to the child's signals, states and needs. This concept differs considerably not only from that of warmth which includes affection or praise when they are given contingently but also when they are given on the parent's impulse regardless of the concurrent state, signals and behaviour of the child. It is quite clear that this shift shows that more attention is paid now to the interactive aspects of the socialisation-process.

Table 2
A Two-Dimensional Classification of Parenting Patterns

Dimensions	Accepting Responsive Child-centred	Rejecting Unresponsive Parent-centred
Demanding, controlling	Authoritative-reciprocal High in bi-directional communication	Authoritarian, power assertive
Undemanding, low in control attempts	Indulgent	Neglecting, ignoring, different, uninvolved

Also, the control/autonomy dimension is redefined. The work of Baumrind can be used to exemplify that dimensions like consistent discipline and maturity demands turn out to be important ones. In fact, concepts as parental demand and parental involvement have merged as parental characteristics that are worthy of attention.

The four new parenting styles that Maccoby and Martin have conceptualised in detail will not be discussed. However, focus is on the authoritative – reciprocal pattern of parenting as it has been formulated by Baumrind (1975) since this pattern is considered to be the most successful parent behaviour in western societies.

The pattern of authoritative parenting includes:

(1) expectation for mature behaviour from the children;
(2) firm enforcement of rules and standards, using commands and sanctions when necessary;
(3) encouragement of independence and individuality;
(4) open communication between parents and children – exchange of viewpoints between parents and children; and
(5) recognition of rights of both parents and children.

This combination of high demand and high responsiveness appears to be related postively to high levels of competence in social contacts in children.

Another way to summarise the most important facets of a more successful socialisation process as it is derived from current research findings is as follows (see Rutter, 1983):

(1) A sense of security in children seems more likely to develop when parents are sensitive to their children's cues and responsive to their needs. This emotional security is necessary to move away both physically and socially – i.e. developing other relationships outside the family.

(2) Another facet is the provision of learning experiences. Children learn from their experiences and the provision of appropriate experiences turns out to be an important part of the education process. ('Appropriate' in the sense of an existing need for active and meaningful experiences.) In our western culture, this implies that we have moved from an era in which parenting was conceived in terms of doing things *to* children, to one in which we see it as doing things *with* children. The importance of reciprocity has been stressed in order to provide children with a varied set of life experience.

(3) Discipline is another facet. It is fairly beneficial to have well recognised social conventions and rules. There is nothing to be gained by ambiguity or by having to renegotiate the rules all the time. A very important aspect of discipline lies in the preventive and structure-providing aspects that are connected with it.

(4) There are several factors related to the development of morality, namely, the general background of family relationships, modelling effects and the development of moral judgements. Practising moral values, however, does not only rely on moral judgments but also for a considerable part dependent on acquired social-problem-solving skills i.e. of the ability to develop alternative ways of reacting to difficult situations.

It is obvious that the impact of education *within* the family is interrelated with the cultural setting in which families function. The question which parental styles will prove to be the most adapative can only be answered in relation to more general societal conditions. Maccoby and Martin (1983) gave a few interesting suggestions that could explain which kind of social conditions could determine whether a certain style of parenting would be more or less adequate. According to them, the following points are worthy of consideration:

(1) Degree of congruence between a given family's values and expectations and those of other parents in the society.

(2) Degree of social surveillance which children are subject to, both inside and outside the home.
(3) Degree to which a child's future depends on the approval of parents and other members of the adult generation.

From this, speculations made are (1) when there are no society-wide standards taken for granted by everyone and/or when there are many things changing in rapid speed, it seems very important to develop a style of parenting that will foster children's self regulation; and (2) when there is a high degree of congruence and social surveillance, other styles of socialisation could be more appropriate.

With respect to adolescents, however, it seems justified to state that in a great variety of cultures, they will have to face a great amount of changes during a rather short period. In this respect, the impact of individual parental characteristics on the development of adolescents should not be underestimated. Despite the adolescent's striving for independence, there is – even in western culture – a considerable continuity in the relationships between the adolescent with his parents and an acceptance of their values. Discrepancy between parental norms and peer norms is far from a necessity, as many research outcomes show. The interesting research findings reported by Keats and Wan Rafaei (1982) underline that parents have the most important position as 'referent others' to adolescents. A very important point raised in their cross-cultural research is that the position of parents varies more with respect to the different topics of behaviour which the adolescents were asked about than with respect of nationality. Rankings of referent others varied more by question content than by cultural background.

To get more insight into this type of relationships, we are in need of more research findings that can inform us which socialisation variables are influential and adaptive to prepare adolescents for the future. In western societies, mutual goodwill between parents and adolescents seems to be a very important factor.

How do we define this for other societies? Despite the progress in getting more nuanced concepts and findings, we are still making very global generalisations stemming partly from very global research questions. Even at this global level, we have to ask whether these generalisations are valid for other cultures, other times or other social groups.

Since children and adolescents learn to adapt behaviourally to the specific demands of the various settings they are in, we should pay particular attention to the further development of research methods that are suited to observe parent-child interactions in a variety of settings. It is important to see how the adaptation-process develops in interaction with the specific demands of a situation. In this respect, the new trend in socialisation research, with its emphasis on the careful observation of interactions within the family, is a promising one (see Patterson, 1982).

In order to discuss the way we construct our developmental theories, the theory of the development of moral judgements as it is presented by Kohlberg and associates is taken as an example. Kohlberg distinguishes three levels of moral judgment, subdivided into six stages. The three levels are pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional. It is suggested that there is a development from a more ego-centric way of reasoning *via* more conformistic approaches to an ability to conceptualise justice and virtue in an abstract generalised mode. According to Kohlberg, these last two stages are rarely seen in the general population.

Two of Kohlberg's most important claims are that the stages are universal and that their sequence is invariant. His work has generated considerable controversy. Some authors have asked for more evidence concerning the relationship of moral judgement to behaviour. Others have wondered if the development of moral reasoning should be placed at the centre of moral education projects. Others have asked either for better documentation of scoring methods (Rest, 1979) or have questioned the validity of postulating such global stage-concepts (Flavell, 1982).

As indicated earlier on, Kohlberg claims universality for his system. This means that the stages should be found in all cultures and groups, and that they should develop in the same fixed order for everyone everywhere. Development should always proceed in a forward direction, from a lower stage to the next higher stage, without skipping any intermediate stage.

Both claims are challenged by several research outcomes. Firstly, the evidence for sequentiality applies only to Kohlberg's lower stages. Secondly, at least some of Kohlberg's stages i.e. the higher ones (5 and 6 or 4, 5 and 6) have only been found in some of the groups studied. Although in the most recent publication of his associates (Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs and Lieberman, 1983), many of these arguments have been analysed and some research evidence in favour of his position presented, the general conclusion is that the discussion with respect to the earlier mentioned cultural differences is yet to be settled.

We now focus our attention on those aspects of Kohlberg's theory that are most crucial for comparative study of moral and social development. With respect to the validity of Kohlberg's theory in general, the following positions can be taken:

(1) the cultural differences result from poor operationalisations and from poor testing procedures;

(2) the cultural differences result from variations in social experiences; and

(3) the cultural differences result from a bias build into the conceptualisation of the theory which is reflected in the definitions of the stages (cf. Edwards, 1981).

Discussion is now focused on the last two positions indicated above since they are, in my opinion, most essential for our thinking on the validity of our developmental theories. In particular, the last position could generate a new set of questions for theories of human development.

We have discussed several styles of parenting and their dependence on influences from the wider society. According to the theory of the development of moral judgments, the social stimulus for moral development can be defined as any kind of role-taking opportunity that is an experience which encourages the child to take a social perspective in a better-balanced and more reciprocal way. Role-taking opportunities become available to the child through participation in the family group, the peer group and eventually the wider society.

According to research from our technological and bureaucratic western society, the most successful parents are expected to be those verbal and overtly rational people who encourage warm and close relations with children and who foster discussions oriented towards reasoned understanding of moral issues and towards a fair consideration of everyone's viewpoint. However, this type of family is not the cultural ideal in many other societies. This raises at least a few critical questions (Edwards, 1982).

(1) Does this type of parenting predict moral judgment development in other societies?

(2) Have some cultures developed completely different strategies through which parents provide their children with role-taking opportunities? Are these strategies more or less successful as the western ones are supposed to be?

Hypotheses derived from this type of thinking must be investigated before we can claim to understand parental and other influences on moral judgment development from a universal human perspective.

However, the third position is the most intriguing because it raises very fundamental questions. These questions are in line with arguments given by several participants in the Second Asian Workshop (Heng-Keng Chiam, 1982) who in her apt critique of the Kohlberg system stated that it is most likely that Asians will employ other principles to resolve moral conflicts. She is therefore justified in asking for a critical evaluation of concepts which are included in a developmental theory like Kohlberg's which is an example of an accidental way of thinking.

A critical evaluation of this type of concepts is worthwhile not only in cross-cultural research but also with respect to investigations *within* a culture, especially when there are rapid changes in a culture or when there are differences between groups that had not been studied before. In this respect, reference is made to a way of thinking introduced by Carol Gilligan (1982) in which she states that the question 'whether current developmental theories can be applied to understanding or assessing the lives of people who differ from those upon whose experience these theories were based' will only introduce a problem of far greater magnitude, i.e. the adequacy of current theories themselves'. She makes her point more specifically by asking whether criteria for development derived from studies of males can be used to measure the development of females.

Her investigations provide interesting conclusions and answers given by young adolescents on the so-called Heinz dilemma – the story involving the stealing of a drug in order to help to cure a dying woman whose husband was too poor to purchase the drug – are indicated. In this presentation, it is not possible to report extensively the answers given by many of the female respondents she had interviewed and by two 11 year-old children, a boy and a girl, whom she considers to be a representative sample.

However, from the general outcome of her questioning, it appears that two very different moral problems can be noticed and that two fundamentally different approaches can be used in the same dilemma. The boy's approach is oriented to justice and rights, and his judgments are very easily scored on Kohlberg's scale. The girl's responses are oriented to care and responsiveness to others, and her judgments are easily misunderstood by using the Kohlberg scheme. The boy is perceiving a conflict between life and property that can be resolved by logical deduction. The girl perceives a fracture of human relationships that must be mended with its own thread. The arrangement of these answers as successive stages on one scale misses, according to Gilligan, the different truths revealed in the judgement of the girl.

The conclusion from this type of analysis is that in our current developmental theories, there is a strong tendency to consider development as a process of separation and individuation. On the other side, the understanding of development as a progress of human relationships and expanding connections is an underdeveloped approach.

Gilligan identifies two different moral languages, the language of rights that protects separation and the language of responsibilities that sustains connections. In a dialogue, these languages reveal how the dynamics of separation and attachment in the process of identity formation relate to the themes of justice and care in moral growth. The question behind this type of reasoning is that our visions of maturity and adulthood, and our culturally-embeded ideals are relevant for our assumptions about the criteria we use to describe the sequences of human development.

What are the conclusion that we can draw from these two examples with respect to the socialisation process in a changing culture? Certainly, we can say that in western culture, partly as a result of new research-findings and also as a consequence of changing societal viewpoints, new trends in the conceptualisation of the socialisation process can be discerned. The consequence of these shifts is that it must lead either to asking new questions or to putting the same questions in a different way. Which are the right questions we have to ask today in order to get a better understanding of the developmental process? By overemphasising certain aspects and by neglecting others, we can give a distorted picture of how development proceeds or should proceed.

Let me just give a few examples. The extreme emphasis in western education on the separation aspect of the individuation process could be conceived as one of the possible causes of the feelings of alienation we sometimes see in adolescents. Conger (1982) recently stated that the rise of the nuclear family, decreased economic interdependence and a greater emphasis on defining life stages, are connected with a greater concern for people as *individuals* rather than primarily as necessary members of a collective effort. These hypotheses have to be evaluated critically. Greater self-realisation and self-awareness can be positive goals but without responsibility and concern for others, it is not possible to realise one's self. Self-realisation is not synonymous with self-indulgence. It is just an indication how critical we have to be with respect to the conceptual schemes we are using.

Achieving a sense of identity is obviously an important developmental task but maturity also requires the development of a capacity for intimacy and what Erikson calls 'generativity' – satisfaction gained from contributing to the development of others and particularly the younger generations. This point is stressed with reasons. In our clinical practice with adolescents in the Netherlands, we not only meet adolescents with a variety of identity problems, dropping out from school and so on. We also see parents who have severe problems in fulfilling their own developmental tasks i.e. taking responsibility for their offspring. These parents sometimes force their youngsters to leave home, not being able to sustain any satisfactory relationship at all.

On the other side of the picture, the newer formulations of the more appropriate parenting styles certainly add new dimensions and give new perspectives concerning how to deal with adolescents who are growing up in a rapidly changing world. Aspects of responsiveness and sensitivity to signals are very important.

Research done on aggression within family settings gives interesting suggestions as to how neglect of or attention to signals is crucial in creating a family climate. Aggresive children, for example, are less responsive to social reinforcements. Sensitivity for signals communicated by so many 'important others' seems to be one of the most important skills useful to adolescents. It is justified to consider adolescence as a period during which many new capacities emerge and existing capacities increase. This is not only apparent in the cognitive field where cognitive skills are becoming more powerful because of a higher level of abstraction and more flexibility in reasoning. The same must be said with respect to social and emotional skills.

However, it is obvious that these important changes do not develop spontaneously. They have to be learned and experienced in interaction with other people. All of us have to learn, relearn and unlearn constantly – the last being the most difficult. Therefore, it is quite revealing to adolescents to realise that by altering one's one's behaviour and by being more sensitive to the signals sent out by others, one can also alter the consequences of one's behaviour i.e. the interactions with other people. It is always revealing that much of the so-called deviant or delinquent behaviour can be conceptualised as being due to inadequate and maladaptive skills. Hence programmes aimed at the promotion of social skills of these groups of youngsters make sense indeed. This underlines again the necessity to investigate which strategies of coping will be the most adaptive in which society. Certainly, the learning processes within the family are to be considered as a very important preparation for future life because of the continuity of this category of influences.

In closing, the following conclusions are made:

(1) With respect to the outcomes of socialisation research, we should not only take into consideration the adaptive value of certain patterns of parenting in relation with the values of the society and the cultural setting they live in. We should also be aware of the possibility that our developmental paradigms may have some built-in biases which prevent us from asking the right questions.

(2) Our insight in the adaptive qualities of parent-child interactions will be fostered by using research methods investigating the interactional processes within the family. This type of research will prevent us from making too global generalisations and will give us, at the same time, helpful tools for the development of intervention programmes.

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Modernisation, Westernisation and Traditional Values: Problems for Asian Adolescents

D.M. Keats

Modernisation is a process which is both universal and relative in that wherever and whenever we consider it, what is regarded as 'modern' in one generation is sure to be regarded as traditional in the next. Furthermore, fashions come and go in all societies. It is ironic to observe in Australia some 'modern' trends such as the recent rise to popularity of acupuncture, astrology, yoga, transcendental meditation and herbal medicines, and the adoption of religious cults and styles of dress and personal adornment which are decidedly 'traditional' to modern Asian youth. Clearly, some of these 'modern' trends are mere fads but others reflect a willingness to look beyond one's own cultural origins for solutions to the dilemmas faced by many young people in Western societies. They show also the vulnerability of youth to transitory social influences. Trying out the latest fads and fashions in dress, food, music and behaviour can be merely fun and in the Australian society, it does not necessarily indicate any alienation of the young from fundamental standards of morality.

As change occurs, there will always be some whose interests are not served by the new ways and it is an almost inevitable component of social change that conflicts will arise between the traditionalists and the modernists. To some, it is temptingly persuasive to regard all social change as modernisation while to others, the very opposite seems to be true as any change is regarded as a threat to all that is traditionally valued. In the view of many parents, the young are particularly susceptible to the former opinion while in the view of many young people, parents are particularly prone to the latter.

When it is apparent to Asian parents that the new ideas and behaviours which their children are adopting are alien to them and are similar to those they read about in books written in English or see in Western films and television, and when they also see Western people in their countries behave in similar ways, they are apt to form the impression that modernisation and Westernisation are synonymous and hence equally to be rejected. The same kind of confounding appears to be present in the minds of many young people who adopt a Western fashion because of its associations rather than its suitability for Asian climates. The trivial and the significant are frequently confounded when value judgements are made about behaviour that is different from that which is traditional.

MEANING OF MODERNISATION

Theorists on the psychological processes of modernisation have put forward a number of attributes shared by 'modern man'. After a wide-ranging survey of the literature and extensive interviewing and question-

Table 1
Characteristics, Attitudes and Values of Modern Man

Readiness for new experience and openness to innovation and change.

Disposition to form or hold opinions over a large number of the problems and issues that arise not only in the immediate environment but outside of it. Orientation in the opinion realm is more democratic.

Orientation to the present or future rather than to the past. Accepts schedules of time as something sensible and appropriate, and is punctual, regular, and orderly in organising his affairs.

Oriented toward planning and organising as a way of handling life.

Believes that he can learn to dominate his environment in order to advance his own purposes and goals rather than being dominated by his environment.

Has more confidence that the world is calculable, that other people and institutions around him can be relied on to fulfil or meet their obligations and responsibilities and that the world is lawful and under human control.

Aware of the dignity of others and more disposed to show respect for them.

Faith in science and technology, even if it is a primitive faith.

Believes in distributive justice that rewards should be bestowed according to contribution and not according to whim or special attributes of the person not related to his contribution.

naire administration with over 5,000 young males in six contrasting and developing countries, namely, Argentina, Chile, Israel, India, Pakistan and Nigeria, Inkeles (Inkeles and Smith, 1974) produced a scale, the Overall Modernity (O.M.) Scale which, in both its long and short forms, has been used extensively to tap the characteristics of modern man. Inkeles' (1966) literature survey located nine groups of attitudes and values characteristic to modern man. These are shown in Table 1.

In the O.M. Scale, the 'modern' responses are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Attitudes of Modern Man

He has an active interest in public issues.
He wants higher education for his children.
He approves of new agricultural techniques.
He prefers candidates who have special education.
He believes that hard work is important for his country's future.
He approves of science.
He approves of restricting family size.
He is interested in world news.
He believes he can understand the thinking of people who come from different places.
He is willing to acknowledge that man can be good without being religious.

Inkeles' monumental work is still a valuable description of modern man in developing countries although it has had its critics (for example, Zaidi, 1981).

Table 3
Some Feminist Life Goals

Equal opportunities for work.
Equal rewards for effort and skill.
Equal access to knowledge.
The right to be treated as a person, not a sex object possessed by men.
The right to control one's own life cycle.
The right to initiate and discontinue sexual partnerships with or without marriage.
The right to choose children or not.
Acceptance of responsibility and the confidence to speak up for themselves when they believe they should.
Autonomy in thought and decision making. Most of all, they do not want to be told by men what they should want and what is their proper behaviour.

It seems significant, however, that the work by Inkeles does not refer to modern woman. Possibly, the impact of the feminist movement was yet to be felt. Modern feminists have stressed equity in legal, financial, political, occupational and educational spheres and in relations between the sexes. The following selection in Table 3 summarises some of the most prominent views.

It will be apparent that some of these rights and freedoms are already available to some women in some Asian societies, though not to all Asian women. For some Asian women, these ideas would mean a sexual revolution which male traditionalists would vehemently oppose.

Allow me now to suggest my own list of characteristics of modernisation which apply to both men and women (Table 4). Specific references

Table 4
Some Characteristics for Being Modern

Has a sense of individual worth, self-based and autonomous.

Approves of sex-role freedom, rejecting inequality and taboos of thought and behaviour that stem from authority without rational bases.

Feels a sense of power over outcomes and over one's own destiny, including political participation.

Accepts and gains control over technological advances.

Approves of and pursues education in a wide not a narrow sense, with equality of access to knowledge and provision for those who suffer from disadvantage.

Adopts a world view in news, skills, science, entertainment, music and dress, from wherever it suits.

Accepts explanations of causality based on scientific rationality, with knowledge not sacrosanct.

Is outgoing to people of other cultures, races and ideologies, open-minded and looking for enhanced experiences through interactions with others.

Is secular in matters of morality and sees morality as a human relationship unrelated to religious beliefs.

Accepts family planning but values children who can be cared for and are wanted.

Maintains personal and public health and hygiene through cleanliness, sanitation, water control and pest control.

Is concerned for ecology, balancing the use and maintenance of natural resources so that the future is safeguarded.

Is mobile, wants to travel, seeks wider horizons and moves about without fear to distant places.

Is at home in an urban environment.

Rejects wars as solutions to social or political problems.

Approves of providing for the handicapped and disadvantaged in society.

are not cited as they are drawn from many sources but one will recognise in the list contributions from Inkeles and the feminist viewpoint, and others which have their source in the aims and ideals of WHO, Unesco and the world-wide ecology and peace movements which have been influential in the last few years. Whether one supports them or not, there is no doubt that they are the phenomena of modernism in the 1980s.

TECHNOLOGY AND VALUES

Inkeles' work preceded the great expansion of technology created by the development of computers and, in particular, the microprocessor which has brought the technological age within range of almost any city or village in Asia. Many traditional values will be affected. The coming of the computer age threatens now to put as wide a gulf between parents and children as did the gulf created by the spread of public education a generation ago. Present-day adolescents will, in the near future, have to come to terms with the power of these changes. We must accept that they will inevitably challenge some traditional beliefs and power bases.

It is hard for many people to imagine the effect the explosion of computer technology will have on the spread of information around the world. To illustrate, we take the example of the way in which the major news services of the world are being operated. For example, a leading Sydney newspaper, *Sydney Morning Herald,* reports on 27 March, 1984 that it now takes 90 seconds for a story to come from USA to Australia and with the new computerised methods of typesetting, that particular story is ready to print in 15 minutes. As more and more information is beamed in from abroad with such speed, attitudes to people and issues at home are quickly affected. The reliability of such sources becomes an important factor in developing these attitudes and hence in developing and maintaining value systems. Another example is the world of international banking. The fluctuation in rates of the dollar, yen, deutschmark, and others can affect the lives of ordinary people half a world away within seconds. Without the technology to make this happen, it might have been months before the ripple reached remoter shores. A third example is the development of computer controlled manufacturing. Robotics is the growth industry of today.

These three examples are all international rather than Western. Although their origins were Western, they are no longer exclusively so. They illustrate too the entry of Asia into the interdependence of the modern world. It is Japan which has put computers into the hands of millions of children and Hong Kong is one of the world's great banking centres. If Japanese car production or electrical appliances industries fail, millions in many countries will also lose their jobs. The manufacturing industries of Taiwan, Korea and Hong Kong affect workers in Australia, Europe and USA.

As Asian countries embrace the modern technology of business and industry, the need for trained operators becomes urgent and new kinds of skill are valued. In Hong Kong, Inkeles' modern man with a sense of time has already replaced the leisurely-paced Asian of the past and as the computerised factory replaces the unskilled workers, masses of Asian adolescents who formerly would have looked forward to becoming unskilled workers or factory hands will have no future unless they develop modern skills. The need for new kinds of skill extends to jobs of many other kinds. To maintain their traditional influence, leadership elites must either give way or acquire the new skills, as many a manager struggling with his new computerised systems well knows. The values that support the fostering of these new skills will be the ones that survive and those which try to oppose them will crumble.

EFFECTS ON ADOLESCENTS

In practice, many of these attitudes are in conflict with traditional beliefs and parental authority. Is it then possible for Asian youth to adopt modern thought and behaviours without rejecting their parents as sources of values, ideals and knowledge? Research in Malaysia (Keats, and Keats; Biddle and Banks; Hauge, R., Wan-Rafaei and Valantin, S., 1983), Thailand (Chuawanlee and Pornsrismut, 1982), and Hong Kong (Chan, 1981) all indicate that parents are, by far, the greatest influence in shaping adolescents' values and expectations, and remain so despite the increasing influences from peers and others.

Many adolescents are unable to develop effective coping techniques when they find themselves in opposition to their parental values and beliefs. Problems with parents whose expectations for their children are contrary to those of their sons or daughters are amongst the most common types of problem brought to counsellors by adolescents who seek their help.

The appeal to rational explanation rather than to norms of traditional beliefs and practice is also a potential source of conflict for adolescents growing up in environments where traditional views are entrenched in strong power bases supported through acceptance of the authority of seniority and official sanctions. It will always be hard for the young to oppose practices whose origins go back for centuries in time, even though the original rational *raison d'etre* that practices once had may have disappeared long since, leaving the practice but not the justification for it. Modernism of the above kind will find restrictions on freedom of thought and enquiry both intolerable and inefficient. If constraints on learning are imposed on modern youth, they will soon reject those who try to impose the constraints. Suppression is only effective on a short-term basis.

The adolescent girl brought up in a traditional family may suffer great anxiety when her desires are in conflict with tradition. The difficulty of attaining equality with her male siblings and schoolmates, the question of whether she will be allowed to travel away to a distant college for further education, the problem of making her own choice in whether and whom she will marry are consuming questions for the modern adolescent girl. The amount of real freedom accorded to Asian girls in decisions on these topics has never been great. However, the modern adolescent may not only perceive this but also not accept her parents' right to limit her options. At the same time, there is also evidence of failure to cope when the constraints are suddely lifted as occurs with some female college students.

Two contrasting types of ineffective coping may be observed. For example, behaviour which 'kicks over the traces' and behaviour which becomes more traditional than before. Both of these are extreme and fail to come to grips with the real issue which often is a mixture of role identity and values clarification problems coupled with anxiety about scholastic performance. A third is the pathological response such as is seen in the cases of mass hysteria reported in Malay female students under stress before examinations (Teoh and Yeoh, 1975).

An advantage that Asian female students have over their Western counterparts is that because of the availability of domestic help, they can more readily combine the traditional roles of wife and mother with career roles. Some of the conflicts that Western girls suffer from this question may yet arise, however, as the value of mother-child bonding becomes more widely promoted. Another factor in this trend is the move to urban living and the lessening in frequency of the extended family as the norm.

SKILLS FOR COPING WITH MODERNISATION

As Asian youth strive to become modern in the above ways, it is clear that there will be many problems relating to parents and many traditional views of causality, morality, role expectations and educational goals and methods. Many traditional belief systems will be challenged and some will inevitably be set aside. This trend is inevitable for traditionalists cannot put back the lid on the Pandora's box of enlightenment.

We need therefore to assist young people to develop ways of thinking and behaving which will be effective in coping with intergenerational differences, help them to maintain an open mind to accept change and yet to be discriminating in regard to rejecting older values. Some suggestions are put forward below, based on findings from our work on values development, studies of the development of inter-personal skills (Kafer, 1983; Duck and Gilmour, 1981) and on Piaget's theory of the development of logical thinking and its application to moral development.

Table 5
Skills for Coping with Modernisation

Develop a sense of social responsibility rather than stressing individualistic goals alone.
Encourage and reward the tolerance of differences across generations and across ethnic, religious and cultural groups.
Develop self-confidence through a realistic evaluation of one's capabilities and coming to terms with oneself.
Develop tolerance of lack of closure, not forcing a conclusion or an attitude if the evidence is inadequate.
Seeing the other person's point of view.
Applying logical and rational thought to social and inter-personal problems.

In conclusion, there are four ways in which we may encourage Asian adolescents towards effective coping with the challenges of modernisation. These are:

(1) If the spread of education has provided the greater impetus to these conflicts, it can also become the means of alleviating them. It should be possible to include in the high school curriculum of every Asian country opportunities to examine these issues seriously, without exerting pressure on the adolescent to conform to any point of view, dogma, norms or values of the *status quo* simply because they have been the tradition in the past. Belief systems which cannot withstand the fresh winds of teenage skepticism can hardly have a strong foundation. For their part, the recognition of the right of others to hold views which they themselves cannot accept is equally important and in multi-cultural societies, the pursuit of tolerance must have a high priority. These are the characteristics of formal operational thought and of the type of value thinking which has been described as Level Four (Keats, 1982).

(2) It is necessary that school curricula come to terms with the new technology so that children growing up can make the transition to the acquisition of modern skills with confidence.

(3) The introduction of personal development programmes in high schools could help all young people to understand their own social and physical development and to develop effective social skills for coping with the new relationships which modernisation will bring.

(4) Finally, to assist students who are suffering in the process of transition and to help them overcome the anxieties caused by differences with their parents and traditional authorities, the development of student counselling services would be a valuable step towards better coping behaviours. It would be important that such services be

offered by trained psychologists, preferably with special training in dealing with societal as well as interpersonal problems. Malaysia has already embarked on a programme of counsellor training and it is to be hoped that this step in the right direction will continue to be strengthened with more psychologically trained counsellors in the future.

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Paper V

Main Theme

Issues on Development

CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor Wan Rafaei Abdul Rahman*
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Conduct, Biological Factors and Adult Delinquency in a Longitudinal Perspective

David Magnusson

Under the title of 'individual development and environment', a longitudinal research programme was initiated in the 1960s at the Department of Psychology at the University of Stockholm. The general frame of the project is to investigate how personal and environmental factors – indenpendently and jointly in interaction – operate and influence the course of development from childhood to adulthood with particular emphasis on social adjustment in adulthood. Within this general frame, main subprojects are directed to the study of aspects of the developmental background of alcoholism, criminality and mental illness. In view of the important role that the individual's educational-vocational career process and his/her social network play in the development, they have been given special attention. (For information about the programme, its main aims, strategies and data collection, the reader is referred to Magnusson, 1981; Magnusson and Dunor, 1981; and Magnusson, Dunor and Zetterblom, 1975).

The frame of reference for the study of social development is the view that the individuals develop in a continuous and bi-directional interaction with the environment as manifested in their physical, social and cultural characteristics. Within the limits of his/her somatic predisposition that each individual develops in this interaction with the environment, a way of understanding, interpreting and dealing with the external world that is partly specific for him/her emerges (Magnusson, 1978; 1981).

The approach of human development as a process of continuous interaction between an individual and his/her environment implies that behaviour cannot be understood satisfactorily without considering personal and environmental factors simultaneously for each individual. This view has been a leading principle in the planning and carrying through of the research programme.

Initially, the research programme comprised all boys and girls of ages 10 and 13 who attended school in a town in the middle of Sweden. The main group (those who were aged 10 at the start) comprised about 1,000 children equally distributed between the sexes. The boys and girls represent the entire range of intelligence and social background, and the empirical comparisons show that the group is fairly representative of the corresponding group of males and females in Sweden. Using the older age group (those who were 13 at the start) as a pilot group for testing research strategies and methods, and for control of age cohort defects, the main group has been followed continuously from the beginning of 1965. On the personal side, psychological factors like *mediating variable* (such as intelligence, creativity, interests, attitudes, norms and values), *manifest behaviour* (such as aggression, hyperactivity, criminality and alcohol consumption), *social relationships* (with parents, peers and adults in general) and *somatic factors* (brain activity measured by EEG, hormanal activity and physical capacity) have been included. On the environmental side, most of our interest has been devoted to the family condition (parents' education and income, family relations, family norms, family activities, etc).

Data for most of the factors have been collected by using methods which permitted group administration of intelligence tests, inventories, etc. Intensive studies have been performed on selected samples of individuals when the needed information required methods that must be applied to one individual at a time (interviews, observations, physiological measures such as EEG, etc). Intensive studies have been conducted both with representative samples and with groups of individuals who are homogeneous in some important respects, e.g. those individuals who were strongly neglected or rejected by their peers at an early age.

All students who had been in the school system and belonged to the age group under study were added to the main group. A comprehensive follow-up has taken place during the last two years at the age of 26 to 28. Then, all those who have participated at least once in our earlier data collection were regarded as the total population. They comprised 1,360 individuals. Data collection in the follow-up study attempted to cover the life situation of the individuals. It included self-reports on working life, family life, leisure-time activities, educational and vocational career, further plans, perceived control of one's life, social support and social networks, alcohol habits etc. A sample of 250 individuals who have been the object of special interest during the entire programme also took part in a two-and-a-half-hour interview, a two-and-a-half-hour test session and a medical examination, particularly directed to the study of various aspects of hormonal functioning. Of particular interests in the follow-up study are all the register data that we have access to. We have now collected all data at the local and at the national level for registered alcohol problems and for criminal acts. We have also collected the journals from all the psychiatric clinics in Sweden and in this way, we have covered the psychiatric history of all our subjects.

At this stage of the longitudinal research programme, data are available on biological and psychological aspects of individual functioning and on relevant environmental factors for a fairly large representative sample of males and females from the age of 10 to 27. The data will be used primarily to investigate problems concerning individual development within the frame of reference briefly presented above.

PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT REPORT

Here, data presented reflect the relationships between conduct, school age, adult criminality and physiological factors. The report will deal with this problem for the male group.

DATA

The two *conduct* variable dealt with here are aggressiveness and motor activity. At the ages of 10 and 13, all pupils were rated by their teachers on a seven point scale with respect to seven factors, among which were aggressiveness and motor activity. The ratings were given by different teachers at the two-age stages. The stability of the ratings was surprisingly high in line with what has been reported by other researches (see Magnusson, Stattin and Dunor, 1983).

Data for *registered crimes* were collected from all central and local registers in Sweden and cover all crimes for which a person has been prosecuted and convicted. The registered data reported here cover the age period from 18 to 26.

The *physiological factor* dealt with here is adrenaline, used as a general indicator of the individuals' level of physiological activity. Excretion of adrenaline in the urine was measured for a sample of about 100 boys and 100 girls at the age of 12–13. Urine was collected under two conditions at school – a film session and an examination – here denoted passive and active conditions.

Whether traditional psychodynamic theory, modern social learning theory or more eclectic approaches to criminality are considered, there seems to be a convergence among researchers that aggressiveness constitutes an important component of early socially maladaptive behaviour. Different labels interconnecting aggressive behaviour and delinquency have been employed such as "the unsocialised aggressive' (Jenkins and Boyer, 1968), 'asocial aggressive' (Warren, 1971), 'frustrative-impulsive aggression' (Roth, 1982), and 'the aggressive, antisocial reaction pattern' (Olwaus, 1978). Though probably hereditary influences may play a part by determining activity level and basic temperament, the main root of aggression has been claimed to be found in the upbringing environment. Early emotional deprivation has been stressed recurrently (Bandura and Walters, 1959; Bowlby, 1965; Ross, Hammond and Mulligan, 1966; Farrington, 1978; Glueck and Glueck, 1951; Langner, 1979; McCord, 1979; Robins, 1965). The person's aggresive behaviour tendencies are conceived of as an emotional defence to disturbed close relationships – deprivation of parental love and affection through separation, punitive attitudes, neglect and rejection – such that hostility and mistrust gradually become typical for his or her general way of relating to others.

A review of the literature showed seven long-term studies which have tried to estimate the prognostic utility of early aggressiveness for later delinquency. The studies differ considerably as to the methods used for data collection, the age points at which the measure of aggressiveness is obtained and the prediction interval for delinquency. Three of the studies cover age-homogeneous populations (West and Farrington, 1973; Mavighurst *et al.*, 1962; Mulligan *et al.*, 1963). Three studies employ selected clinical populations (kirkogeard-Sorensen and Madnick, 1977; McCord, 1982; Mitchel and Rose, 1981). In one study, only girls are followed-up subjects (Feldhusen, Thurston and Bezning, 1973). Despite these differences between studies, there emerges some concern themes. There is roughly three times as many future delinquents among high-aggressive than among low-aggressive subjects. Nearly half of the delinquents have been rated as highly aggressive in earlier years in comparison with one out of six of the conform subjects.

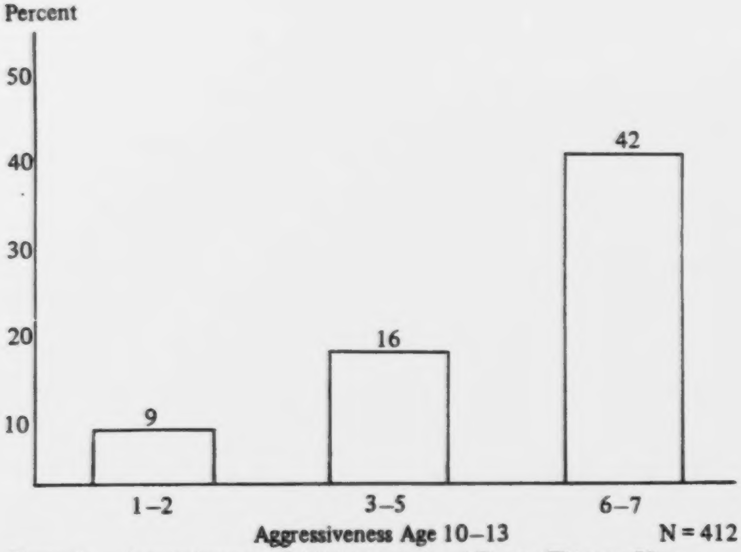

Figure 1: Aggressiveness of Adolescents Aged Ten to Thirteen Years

In Figure 1 are given the percentages of individuals with different aggressiveness scores at school age who have committed one or more crimes at adult age. It can be seen that aggressiveness at school age is highly productive of later criminality. The absence of aggressive tendencies at an early age is strongly related to the absence of criminal offences at adult age.

When aggressiveness at age 13 was related to adrenaline excretion at the same age, a significant negative correlation was obtained. Boys who were rated as highly aggressive had a significantly *lower* level of adrenaline excretion than boys who were rated as low in aggression. This was valid both under passive and active conditions.

Then a natural interest is in the relation between adrenaline excretion at age 13 and criminality at adult age. This relation is shown in Figure 2.

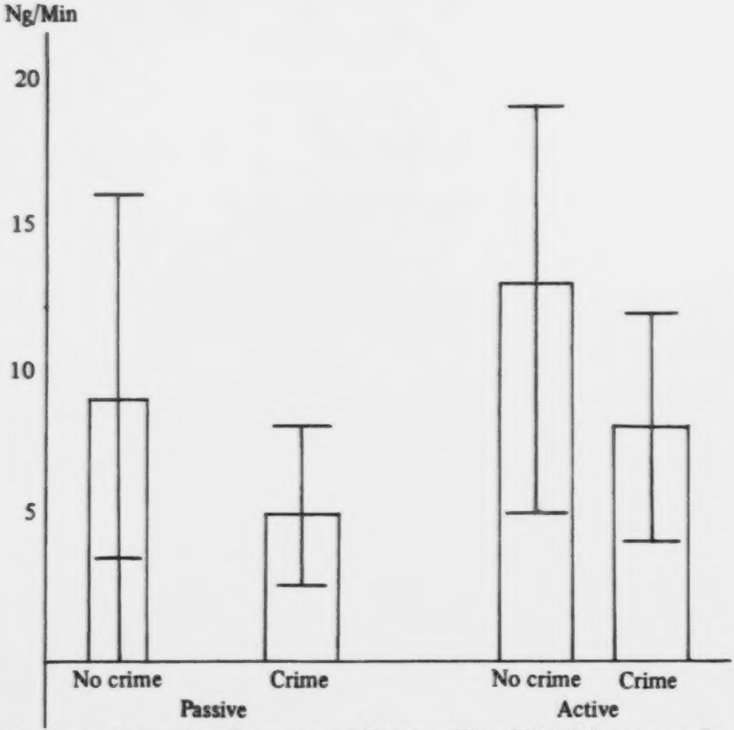

Figure 2: Adrenaline Excretion of Thirteen Year Old Adolescents under Passive and Active Conditions

It should be observed that adrenaline excretion is measured at age 12–13 and criminal offences cover the age period between 18 and 26. Given this long interval, the differences in mean adrenaline excretion between those who have committed crimes and those who have not are surprisingly high. They are not only significant but also substantial.

EARLY AGGRESSIVENESS AND MOTOR ACTIVITY AS PREDICTORS OF ADULT CRIMINALITY

So far, our results are in accordance with what has been obtained in psychophysiological laboratory research during the last decade. However, the interpretation of the results presented above as supporting the common assumptions in criminological theories about aggressiveness as the important factor in the etiologs of adult criminality can be questioned. Recent research on conduct problems, in a wide sense, suggests that two main components can be discerned: an aggressive component (as seen in destructive behaviour, fighting, daring, quarrelsomeness, etc.) and hyperactivity (restlessness, concentration difficulties, motoric overactivity, etc.). Although interrelated, these two components have been found to constitute separate dimensions in factor analytical studies on conduct problems, and also to have somewhat different future implications and different etiology (c.f. Milich and Loney, 1979; Stewart, Cummings, Singer and WeBlois, 1981; Langhorne and Paternite, 1978).

The hyperactivity-aggressiveness distinction is of particular theoretical interest, not least in criminological research. For example, aggressiveness has been considered in the main approaches to personality as the primary early risk factor for delinquency. In psychodynamic theory, aggression has in some cases been considered as almost tantamount with delinquency: both being so called alloplastic symptoms (Eissler, 1949) or destructive forces that are directed towards others and the external reality. On the other hand, within the hyperactivity phenomenor, aggression is included as a secondary factory. That hyperactivity can be linked to delinquency has been discussed earlier on (Robins, 1965; Offord, Sullivan, Allen and Abrams, 1979).

These findings, together with neurophysiological research on hyperactivity showing systematic relations with physiological reactivity, led us to the following questions: if ratings of aggressiveness might reflect not only genuinely aggressive tendencies but also activity level of the individuals, it should be showed that there is a rather high correlation between teachers' ratings of aggressiveness and their ratings of motoric activity. Then, which is the important aspect of the ratings of aggressiveness and motoric activity respectively, that is related to physiological reactions and predictive of later criminality? Is it aggressiveness with motoric activity partialled out or is it activity with aggressiveness partialled out? Or is it a specific constellation of the two?

The questions were studied in a way that is shown in Tables 1 and 2. In Table 1, the percentage of individuals who have committed crimes during the period of 18 to 26 is shown for (a) those who were neither rated as highly aggressive nor as highly active (cell n) (b) those who were rated as very aggressive but not highly active (cell B) (c) those who were rated as highly active but not highly aggressive (cell C), and (d) those who were rated as both highly aggressive and highly active (cell D). As can be seen from Table 1, activity is the stronger single factor. The really strong criminality is obtained for those who were rated as high in both aggressiveness and motor activity at the age of 13. Out of 60 boys in that group, 35 (58%) have committed a crime at adult age.

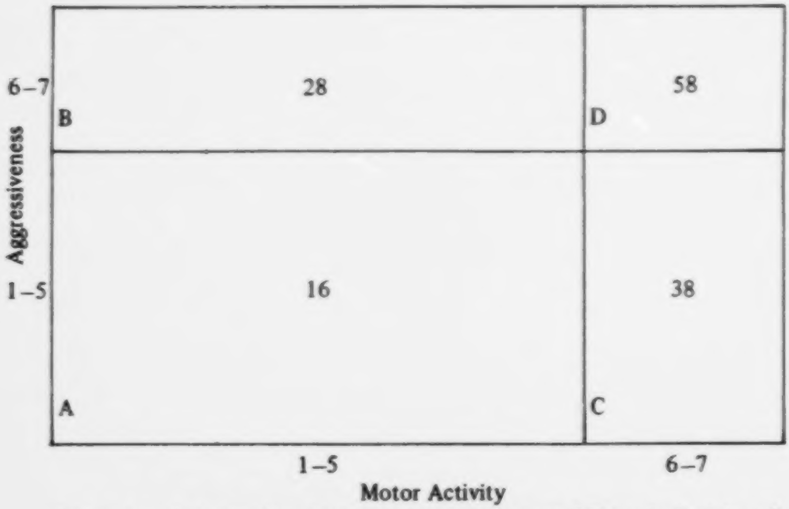

Figure 3: Relationship Between Aggressiveness and Motoric Activity of Individuals Who Committed Crime at Adult Age

The next step was to go back to the study of adrenaline excretion as the dependent variable for aggresiveness with motor activity and motor activity with aggressiveness partialled out. The result is shown in Table 2.

The number in the cells for aggressiveness and activity as pure factors is small and the results should be taken as indicative rather than decisive. However, the tendency is clear. For ratings of aggressiveness with activity partialled out, the adrenaline excretion is actually higher than for non-criminals. Boys who are rated as highly active without being aggressive have significantly lower adrenaline excretion compared with the controls and at about the same level as those who are both aggressive and motoric active.

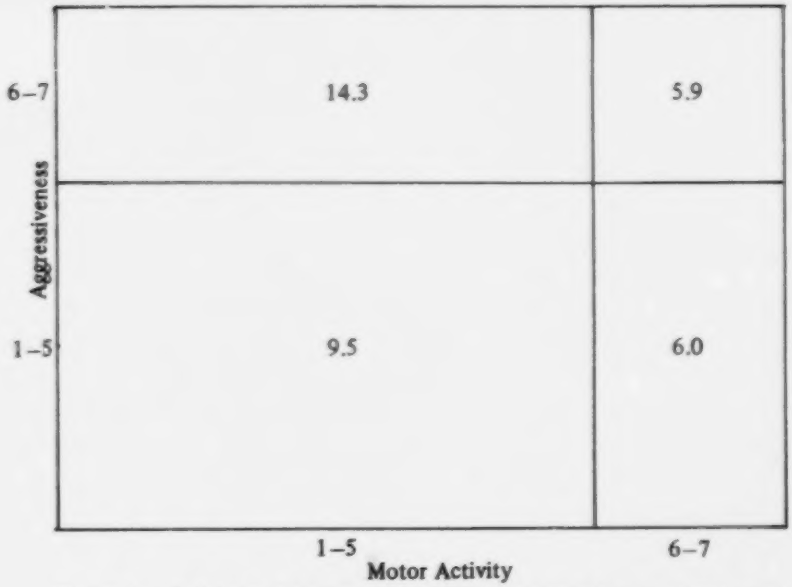

Figure 4: Relations Between Adrenaline Excretion (Passive Condition) and Aggressiveness of Individual Who Committed Crime at Adult Age

Thus, the results of the calculation for adrenaline excretion is in line with those for criminal offences: motor activity is a stronger factor than aggressiveness *per se*.

COMMENTS

The first part of the results presented has been reported and discussed earlier on (Magnusson, Stattin and Duner, 1983). The last part in which aggression and motoric activity have been separated is the result of very recent calculations. We are now discussing the possible interpretations of these results in the frame of reference given by results from research on hyperactivity (with miniral brain damage, attention deficit disorder, personality disorders etc.) and impulsiveness. We are also planning further research in order to elucidate the complex development process in which psychological and biological factors interest with each other and with environmental factors. With access to data for personality factors, registered alcohol abuse and psychiatric journals, and to data for crucial hormones and neurotransmittors from blood and urine at adult age, we hope to be able to contribute to some understanding of that process.

Aggressiveness

(1) They are aggressive against teachers and classmates. They may, for example, be impertinent and impudent, actively obstructive or incite to rebellion. They like disturbing and quarelling with classmates.

(2) They work in harmony with the teacher and have positive contacts with classmates. Their relation to others easily become warm and affectionate.

Most children are between these two extremes.

Motor Activity

(1) They find it very diffficult to sit still during lessons. They fidget uneasily in their seats or wish to move about in the classroom, even during lessons. They may also be talkative and noisy.

(2) They have no difficulty at all in satisfying event great demands on silence and quietness.

Most children are between these two extremes.

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Issues on Self-Concept and Sex-Role Development in Japan

Keiko Kashiwagi

Sex-role development is obviously one of the essential problems to be resolved to understand human development from a broad socio-cultural point of view. The circumstances surrounding sex-role development have been changing and are varied these days in many respect: in personal values, social norms, family structure, education, labour market and several demographic variables such as birth rate, life span and so on. All of these socio-cultural factors have had massive influences upon sex-role development which eventually determines personality and adjustment.

In particular, sex-role development during adolescence which reflects socialising processes in the family and school will deeply influence the youngster's self-concept and adjustment, and may determine the future course of his/her life.

This paper deals with sex-role development in Japanese adolescents and some related problems such as self-concept and socialisation processes. Recent trends in this field of researches will be reviewed and examined partly from a cross-cultural point of view and some problems as well.

SELF-CONCEPT IN JAPANESE ADOLESCENTS

Self-concept has been one of the central topics in psychology of adolescence ever since it was introduced in Japan. Owing to many research and reports published so far, some characteristics of development of self-concept and self-esteem have gradually been unveiled. One of them is a consistent emergency of sex difference in self-concept observed across many development researches.

Yamamoto *et al.* (1982) reported in their study of college students that self evaluation by male subjects was significantly more positive than that of female subjects in various aspects of personality (Table 1). Similar tendencies are also seen in several cross-sectional data (Murase, 1973; Kato, 1977; Miyazawa, 1978; and Kajita, 1980). Most of these studies revealed striking sex differences, with male subjects having higher self-acceptance and females with lower self-evaluation. Significantly lower self-ratings in female subjects have been pointed out in various areas such as positive attitudes toward life and ability, confidence and satisfaction with their own personality. Moreover, negative self evaluations exist in females all through their lives, from adolescence to old age. (Shimonaka *et al.* 1976).

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations of Eleven Dimensions for Boys and Girls

Dimensions	Boys	Girls	P
Sociability	3.00 (1.04)	3.22 (1.08)	< .01
Athletic Skills	3.04 (1.11)	2.60 (1.10)	< .01
Intelligence	2.99 (0.92)	2.56 (0.89)	< .01
Kindness and Tenderness	3.49 (0.86)	3.43 (0.80)	
Sexuality	2.19 (0.96)	2.58 (0.94)	< .01
Looks	2.76 (0.95)	2.58 (0.94)	< .05
Way of Living	3.21 (1.06)	2.84 (1.08)	< .01
Economic Capacity	2.54 (0.93)	2.70 (1.00)	< .05
Hobby and Special Ability	3.30 (1.11)	3.02 (1.19)	< .01
Earnestness	3.44 (0.82)	3.41 (0.86)	
Popularity of Schools	3.12 (1.08)	3.37 (1.10)	< .01

Source. M. Yamamoto *et al.*, 1982.

Identity confusion based on Erikson's theory is another characteristics to be considered in self-concept. It also exists more predominantly among female adolescents. In addition, there is a close relationship between identity confusion and the large disparity in real self and ideal self of female subjects (Takeuchi, 1981 Matsuda, *et al.*, 1982).

In brief, most research conducted so far almost unequivocally provide evidences of sex differences in self-concept, revealing that females have low self-acceptance, negative self-evaluations and negative feelings toward self. This seems to be one of the characteristics peculiar to Japanese adolescents because Maccoby and Jackline (1974) presented different data. They reported that out of 39 studies on self-concept at various age levels reviewed, 24 of them showed no sex differences, only 6 reported higher self-esteem among boys, and 9 documented higher self-esteem among girls. This picture is quite different from the consistent trend of lower self-evaluations among Japanese females. How can this difference be explained? The lower self-esteem of Japanese females may be closely related to difficulties in their adjustment to the sex role which is socially and traditionally defined more rigidly than in the United States of America. A few female adolescents are reluctant to accept the social norms for women but they eventually meet conflicts in integrating their own conceptions of sex role with social sex-role norms. Thus, lower self-evaluations and identity confusion peculiar to Japanese female adolescents seem to be closely related with social norms on sex-role in Japan.

SEX-ROLE DEVELOPMENT IN JAPANESE ADOLESCENTS

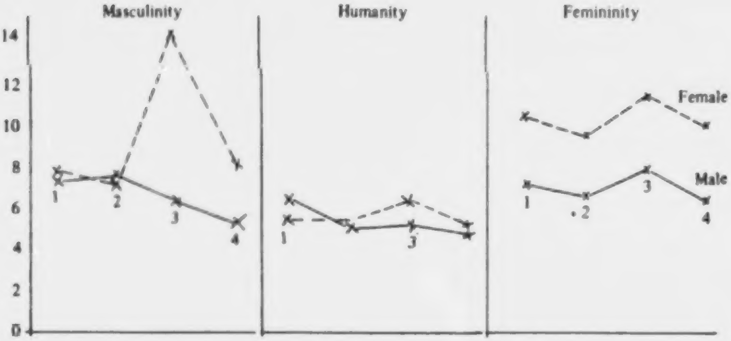
Acquisition of the sex role from early childhood through adolescence has been investigated in various aspects. Cognitive aspects of sex role development of Japanese adolescents have received particular attention and several consistent results have so far been obtained. Girl's acquisition of sex roles is considered to be an important problem related to developmental tasks and adjustment in adolescents.

Social sex roles of males and females are differently conceptualised along two opposite dimensions: one is the masculine dimension characterised by activity, independence and dominance for males, and the other is the feminine dimension characterised by elegance, loveliness and calmness for females (Kashiwagi, 1967, 1972, 1974). In addition to these male and female dimensions, a humanity dimension consisting of brightness, warmth and broad-mindedness is regarded as equally important traits for both sexes (Ito, 1978) (see Table 2).

Table 2
List of Items in M-H-F Scale

Masculinity	Humanity	Femininity
Ambitious	Tolerant	Cute
Stout (strong)	Broad-minded	Elegant
Bold	Bright	Sexy
Leadership	Cheerful	Devoted
Confident	Warm	Charming
Dependable	Sincere	Speaks politely
Active	Healthy	Delicate
Self-assertive	Candid	Submissive
Strong-willed	One's own way of living	Calm
Quick in decision	Broadview	Primp

Source. Y. Ito, 1978.



Source. Y. Ito and K. Akitsu, 1980.

Notes. 1 = Junior; 2 = Junior High; 3 = College and 4 = Adult.

Figure 1: Discrepancy Between Conceptions of Sex-Role and Perceived Social Sex-Role Norms in Four Age-Groups

In the conceptualisation of the sex roles, sex differences have been identified by several researches. Male subjects tend to regard males and females on a nearly bipolar basis while female subjects are likely to minimise the difference between the role of the two sexes.

Sex differences are more prominent in the evaluation of what is desirable for their own sex than in the evaluation of existing social sex roles. In male subjects, masculine and feminine dimensions are rated differently and desirabilities for themselves on these two dimensions are clearly discriminated. Compared to male subjects, female subjects' conceptions of their own sex-role are different from their evaluation of social female role. They rate M traits higher and F traits lower on desirable female role than their rating on existing social sex-roles (Ito, 1978 and 1981). Accordingly, larger discrepancies between conceptions of their own individual sex-role and perceptions of social sex-role exist in female subjects (Kashiwagi, 1974; Ito, 1980a; Ito and Akitsu, 1983) (see Fig. 1).

The largest discrepancies between their own conceptions of sex role and their perceptions of social sex-role are evident at the college level although discrepancies are consistantly larger in female subjects through all age levels (Inagaki, 1969; and Kashiwagi, 1974). The discrepancies tend to decrease in adulthood and the conception of sex role gradually changed from the extremely unconventional pattern of college student towards a moderate pattern of traditional sex-role stereotypes (Inagaki, 1969). Cross-national comparisons on sex-role development are rare. However, discrepancies in conceptions of sex role between Japanese and American female adolescents have been pointed out (Inagaki, 1967).

SELF-CONCEPT AND SEX-ROLE DEVELOPMENT

These evidences on sex-role development suggest that Japanese female adolescents have considerable conflicts in conceptualising and accepting their own sex role and this may eventually cause some difficulties in personality development and adjustment in female.

In fact, a cross-national survey (Ministry of Education, 1975) unveiled a lower degree of acceptance of their own sex in Japanese females; they are more reluctant to be women compared to the females in other Western countries (Table 3). This suggests that the situations are apt to lead Japanese female adolescents to a lack of confidence in themselves and then to some confusion in their identities. Accumulated evidences seem to support this hypothesis.

Table 3
Response in Women to Question 'Which Do You Wish to Be Born Next Time, a Man or a Woman? in Percentages

	US	France	Sweden	Japan
To be a man	10.5	25.8	4.5	27
To be a woman	78.5	57.0	89.1	50
Ambiguous	11.0	17.2	2.7	23

Source. Ministry of Education, 1975.

Disparity of two self-concepts (real and ideal) is examined in relation to acceptance of individual sex role by several studies. Significant D-scores (disparity between real and ideal self-concepts) are found in the female groups showing a negative and sometimes rejective attitude towards their own sex (Takahashi, 1975). Significant positive correlations between identity confusion and D-scores are also observed with female adolescents. Lower self-esteem which includes lack of confidence, inferiority complex, passive and inactive attitudes toward their future life has been suggested to be a main factor which hampers the establishment of stable self-identity. In addition, girls with high femininity scores as measured by a revised version of MMPI tended to accept the traditional female role and has less conflict with social sex-role norms (Ito, 1980a). These data show that acceptance of individual sex role is one of the critical determinants of self-concept in Japanese female adolescents.

One more factor has certainly an adverse effect on the self-esteem of females. There is a general trend in Japanese society for the traits traditionally attributed to the female role to be less valued than those attributed to the traditional male role. The traits on the female dimension are evaluated distinctly lower by Japanese people of both sexes (Ito, 1980a) (see Table 4).

Table 4
Social Evaluation on Three Sex-Role Dimensions: Masculinity, Humanity and Femininity.

Sex	Masculinity	Humanity	Femininity
Male	33.64[1] (4.89)[2]	36.49 (3.44)	19.86 (4.37)
Female	32.15 (5.32)	36.92 (3.50)	20.90 (4.77)

Notes. [1] Mean and [2] standard deviation.
Source. Y. Ito., 1978.

According to Spence *et al.*, high self-ratings on masculinity and femininity are significantly related to self-esteem for both men and women. Consistent sex differences in self-esteem itself are not evident in their data (Table 5). Rather, high self-esteem is observed in women. The strong associations of both masculinity and femininity with self-esteem in US (correlations of M and F with self-esteem are sufficiently high with values ranging from .30 to .83) suggest that these two factors (M and F) may function to determine an individual's self-esteem.

Table 5
Mean Self-Esteem in Four Groups Differing in Masculinity and Femininity

	1 Low M Low F	2 Low M High F	3 High M Low F	4 High M High M
Men	66.82	74.55	87.02	93.73
N	(72)	(30)	(64)	(68)
Women	69.66	75.41	92.17	98.73
N	(56)	(104)	(30)	(80)

Source. J.T. Spence *et. al.*, 1975.

Relevant data on Japanese samples comparable with Spence's findings are not available. However, somewhat different pictures are suggested by Ito's previous findings. Female subjects with high score on F scale of MMPI tend to evaluate F dimension highly on female role and they are also more likely to accept their sex role. (It may be speculated that this also leads to high self-esteem). In contrast, the subjects with low F scores and high M scores tend to evaluate the M dimension highly on female role and are reluctant to accept their own female role.

Various studies on Japanese adolescents so far described have revealed outstanding sex differences in self-esteem which is significantly low in girls. In addition to low self-esteem, greater discrepancy between their own sex-role concept and perceived social sex-role norms in female are repeatedly documented by various researchers using different measures.

Further examinations are needed to clarify the mechanisms underlying the cognitive development of sex role and its relationship to the self-esteem of Japanese adolescents. In addition to the cognitive domain, behavioural domains related to sex role in terms of masculinity and femininity as duality are to be another target for further examination. Such an approach will give us a better understanding of the characteristics and problems of sex role socialisation processes and of self-concept in adolescents living in a changing society. Studies along this line are worthy of cross-cultural research in order to understand personality development and adjustment from a broad socio-cultural perspective.

SEX-ROLE SOCIALISATION PROCESSES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

Various phases of sex-role socialisation exist in the home, school and the social settings, and they all play an important role, both explicitly and implicitly, in creating various sex differences among Japanese people. Most of the studies on child-rearing patterns have provided the data that parental attitudes and behaviour towards their child differ according to the sex of the child; the girl is frequently trained to conform with the traditional sex role of females.

The aspects of parental sex-differentiated treatment shown in the reports of recent surveys are: parental aspiration for education, expectation towards child's future life, assignment of housework, and '*juku*' schooling for sons and daughters (Economic Planning Agency, 1978; Ministry of Education, 1975, 1983; and Prime Minister's Office, 1979, 1980). More detailed examinations on parental, sex-differentiated disciplines reveal somewhat complicated and confused pictures: according to the studies which have been conducted, (Kashiwagi, 1975 and Kashiwagi *et al.*, 1976), sex-differenciated disciplines are present in nearly 80% of Japanese homes, girls being expected to conform with the traditional sex role (Table 6). However, parental, sex-differentiated discipline is not necessarily consistent with their concepts (opinions) on sex-role; a considerable amount of incongruity between parental actual behaviours and their opinions is observed in nearly 50% of the parents. For instance, many good mothers who speak against traditional sex-role stereotype often actually train their children differentially in line with the conventional sex role concept. Such incongruity between opinions and behaviours is more frequently found among the mothers with older children (adolescents) than among the mothers with young children, and is more prevalent among the mothers with girls than among the mothers with boys.

Table 6
Distribution of Mothers According to Types of Sex-Differentiated Discipline at Three Age Levels

	Age of Children		
Types of Mothers	**Ten**	**Twelve**	**Fourteen**
Mothers who train their children differently according to their sexes.	37*	30	35
Mothers who give sex-differentiated training only to sons.	19	17	8
Mothers who give sex-differentiated training only to daughters.	29	27	33
Mothers who train their sons and daughters equally without any sex-differentiated training	15	26	23

******Source*. K. Kashiwagi, 1976.
Note. Fitures are given in percentages.

On the other hand, children's attitude towards such sex-differentiated discipline is considerably different between boys and girls (Table 7). Boys at high school and college levels show more positive opinion of the parental discipline but girls of both age levels are resistant to the sex-typed training and show rather negative attitudes toward parental discipline.

In addition to the parental discipline at home from birth to adolescence, educational institutions and social setting also play important roles as socialising agents in making the children adjust themselves to the traditional sex-role stereotypes. Textbooks, curricula and other aspects of elementary and secondary education have recently been criticised for being biased on this point (Sato, 1977). For instance, only girls are requested to learn homemaking as a compulsory subject. This is only one of the explicit examples of children being discriminated in the direction of sex-role differentiation.

Table 7
Attitudes Toward Parental Sex-Differentiated Discipline in Two Age Levels

Sex	Age Level	
	High School	College
Male	26.1[1] (19.1)[2]	26.0 (17.8)
Female	17.2 (11.6)	18.5 (15.3)

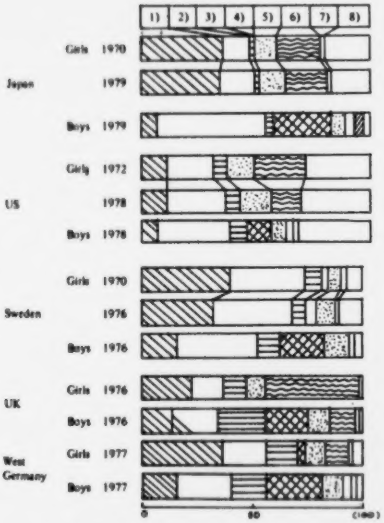
Source. K. Kashiwagi, 1975.

Notes. [1]Means (the higher the score, the more positive and permissive are the attitudes toward parental discipline). [2]Standard deviation.

As a consequence of parental expectations and training based on the child's sex, extremely biased distribution of boys and girls is found in courses taken in the universities. In the distribution, Japanese students are strikingly different from those in other countries. This trend has hardly changed and has almost been constant for the last decade (Ministry of Education, 1980) (see Fig. 2).

As seen clearly in the divergent distribution of courses according to sex, sex-differentiated training has a massive effect upon various aspects of child development. The influences of sex-typed socialisation processes have been increasingly taken up by developmental psychologists and a detailed investigation has been carried out by several researchers (Ito, 1980; Kashiwagi, *et al.*, 1976; and Soeda and Kashiwagi, 1981). Values, interests, life styles, academic achievement and career patterns have been the main targets for analysis in connection with sex-typed training by parents.

The research reveals a somewhat complicated picture concerning the impact of parental sex-differentiated discipline upon sex-typing in children (Table 8). Sex-differentially trained boys showed more sex-typed behaviour at all age levels. This suggests that parental training functions as the direct reinforcement for boy's behavioural development. In girls, however, such direct impact was detectable only at 10 or 12 years' age levels, and the reverse relationship of parental discipline and sex-typing is identified at 14 years' age level. This implies negative influences of parental sex-typed training upon female adolescents.



Source. Japan, Ministry of Education; US, Statistical Abstract of the United States; Sweden, Statistical Abstract of Sweden; and UK and West Germany, Ministry of Education.

Notes.
(1) Humanities
(2) Social Sciences
(3) Natural Sciences
(4) Engineering
(5) Medicine
(6) Education
(7) Agriculture
(8) Miscellaneous

Figure 2
Distribution of Students in University Courses
(Comparison of Five Countries)

Table 8
Sex-Typing in Children and Mother's Sex-Differentiated Discipline

Maternal Discipline	Sex					
	Boy			Girl		
	Age in Years					
	10	12	14	10	12	14
Sex-Differentiated	3.60	2.27	4.83	−2.00	−3.07	−2.44
Equally-Trained	3.56	2.27	3.14	−1.00	−2.50	−2.13

Source. K. Kashiwagi, 1976.

Notes. Scores of sex-typed behaviour range from 0 to 12 for boys and from 0 to 14 for girls. Higher absolute score means more sex-typed behaviour for each sex.

According to Honor (1972), fear of success is one of the marked characteristics related to sex-typing in females. Several researches reveal some sex differences concerning fear of success in Japanese adolescents. It is found at all age levels but substantial sex differences are documented at high-school student level which tends to become more and more striking. (Saito *et al.*, 1981). In addition, qualitative differences are marked between males and females in the way how one withdraws from achieving success (Okazaki, 1977). Based on content analysis of verbal responses, two types of motives are identified; one is withdrawal (avoidance) from success because of negative evaluation of success itself, and the other is fear of success due to the expectations that success may cause negative social criticisms for inappropriate female role. The former, withdrawal from success, is found in both sexes but the latter, fear of success, is present only among female subjects.

As for some influences of sex-differentiated discipline upon cognitive development, a preliminary analysis of the data on material influences upon child's cognitive outcomes collected in Japan and US presents interesting features of sex differences. Since the study is not primarily concerned with sex differences, the sample size of each sex is not enough to make a definite conclusion. In spite of the limitation, there are a few cognitive performance measures showing significant sex differences in both the US and Japan, and general levels of cognitive functioning are nearly the same for both sexes in terms of mean scores of the cognitive measures. As to the differences in correlational patterns between the two countries, in Japan, however, more correlations are found to be significantly higher among boys than among girls. In the US, on the other hand, the number of significant correlations are the same for both sex groups. (Kashiwagi and Azuma, 1981) (see Table 9).

Table 9
Number of Correlations Found To Be Significant between Maternal Variable and Child's Cognitive Measures in Boys and Girls in Japan and US

Sex	Country	
	Japan	US
Boys	36	37
Girls	22	36

Source. K. Kashiwagi and H. Azuma, 1981.

The above data may suggest that Japanese boys are subjected more intensively to the treatment provided by their mothers to facilitate their cognitive skills than girls. Boys tend to be provided with more educational stimulations, opportunities and training that are of advantage to their later cognitive development than girls. Such differences between sexes in socialisation processes are likely to be more predominant in Japan than in America.

Finally, comment is made of the social values or norms underlying the socialisation processes of sex role, either explicitly or implicitly, among the Japanese people (Kikuchi and Gordon, 1970). Kikuchi and Gordon present extensive cross-cultural data on value systems mainly in adolescents. Concerning interpersonal values, both male and female Japanese students significantly put more emphasis upon 'conformity' both at high school and college levels. 'Independence', almost an opposite value, is significantly more highly valued by American students of both age levels and sexes than their Japanese counterparts. Furthermore, Japanese students place higher value on 'orderliness' and 'goal orientation' among personal values than American students. This suggests their inclination towards a well-organised routine life, systematic approaches to relatively well-defined goals, and their resistance to change and diversity.

These findings seem to be closely in agreement with anthropological observations and anecdotal writings on Japanese national character. The characteristics of personal and interpersonal values of the Japanese have to be considered in order to understand sex-role socialisation in Japan. Social norms on sex role exist in Japan although they are not necessarily explicit and most are rather vague and implicit. The pressure to conform to the norms is more severely and pervasively put upon members of Japanese society than in Western cultures. Sex-differentiated training frequently employed by Japanese parents and even by school teachers is one of the reflections of that strong socio-cultural climate. Under the circumstances, discrepancies between one's own concept of sex role and the social norms of sex role are problems of importance for adolescents' self-identity, and they often provide critically serious conflicts for female adolescents.

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Symposium VI

SYMPOSIUM VI A : Preparation of Youth for Adulthood

CHAIRPERSON	*Mr. Kong How Kooi*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mrs. Thong Lay Kim*

Adolescents' Buying Practices in Malaysia**

Jariah Hj Masud and Rohani Abdullah

The role of young consumers in the market is important since they make up a large specialised segment of the market for many goods and influence family and peer-spending patterns. Although there is a growing interest in consumer behaviour of young people, little information is available to help us to understand their behaviour as consumers and the factors which influence their behaviour.

A study on the adolescents as consumers was conducted in 1981. Thirty-two schools from eight states (Perlis, Kedah, Penang, Melaka, Johor, Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan) were selected for the study. A total of 4,287 Form IV pupils participated in the study. The main objective of the study was to explore the spending patterns and buying and saving practices of adolescents.

The average age of the respondents in this study was 16.1 years and 62.9% of them had been brought up in the rural areas. Looking at their parents occupation, 86.9% of the respondents had fathers who worked as farmers or labourers, and 84.2% respondents had mothers who were full-time housewives. The average income of their parents was M$370.45 and there were 75.3% respondents whose fathers earned less than M$400.00 per month. In general, the majority of the respondents in this study came from low income families.

Although their parents' income was small, 92.2% respondents stated they received an allowance. The frequencies of allowance received ranged from daily to once a month. The average allowance received was M$7.47 per month. In addition to allowance, 851 respondents received the average scholarship of M$21.34 per month. The average total amount of money received by respondents in this study was M$11.04, a sum which was relatively high when compared to the average income of their parents.

The money received was spent on several items. The respondents spent, on the average, M$9.36 on food, M$8.66 on transportation, M$7.52 on reading materials, M$5.03 on personal grooming and/or M$4.67 on entertainment. An average of M$16.40 was spent on clothing. Respondents in this study perferred to shop at supermarkets and retail outlets. The reasons given by 74.4% who did their shopping at specific places were reasonable prices and convenient locations. The majority of the respondents in this study bought food such as noodles, traditional cakes and other light snacks. In addition to buying food at the school canteen, respondents in this study also bought food from other sources such as stalls, restaurants or fast food stores.

The respondents were asked several questions on their buying practices. A total of 98% of the respondents had the opportunity to buy their own goods. The respondents planned their purchases and 51.5% of them often prepared shopping lists, 48.5% brought along the shopping lists and 29.5% of the respondents often kept to the list which they had prepared. Questions relating to other recommended consumer practices were asked. For example, respondents were asked if they observed the weight, checked their change, compared prices, checked price tags and read labels. In general, more than 50% of the respondents performed either all of these practices or at least some of them.

This paper attempts to explore factors influencing respondents buying and saving practices, and their participation in family spending. It is hoped that the result of this study will help us to understand adolescents, particularly their purchasing behaviour. The result can also be a guide to educators in developing appropriate consumer education programmes for adolescents in order to help us create a future generation of responsible consumers.

The Need for Consumer Education for Youths

Evelyn Hong

INTRODUCTION

With a few exceptions, the present education model in developing countries is still a colonial legacy. As these countries became increasingly linked to the world economic system in the post-colonial period and dependent on the developed countries, so did their education systems. Education in the developing world was geared to meet the needs of the expanding industrialised economy which became a mere appendage of the economic system in the developed West. Like the wholesale adoption of western economic and development models, the education models in the developing nations also followed suit, relying heavily on Western programmes and technology, and its bias towards higher education.

In the context of the developing world where the majority of the population is poor, this elite-oriented model leaves much to be desired as it is irrelevant to the needs of the majority. It incurs a waste of resources and makes failures of a large portion of the students. This will be elaborated in the following section. Finally and most importantly, many of the young students who become failures easily fall prey to the western, materialistic consumer culture epitomised in drug taking.

However, education in the context of the developing world has an extremely important role to play in transforming society and achieving genuine development and human liberation. For the reward of education is life itself and the purpose of education must surely be the development and fulfillment of an individual's potential. This paper seeks to explain why there is a need for consumer education as an education in life.

Probelms of the Education System and of the Young

Educationists the world over have increasingly come to the conclusion that education and the school system, especially the secondary educational system, is seriously out of step with the needs and aspirations of modern youth and of contemporary society. It has not helped young people to equip themselves with the inner strength and vision to interpret and live in a modern contemporary society. Hemming in his book, *The Betrayal of Youth*, says that the major flaw in secondary education is the academic illusion.

> The erroneous assumption that human quality is to be preeminently assessed in terms of intellectual ability .... By placing all the emphasis, and the prestige, on a single function of the mind, it has distorted the entire educational process. What has twisted everything askew is not a proper respect for the intellect but the comparative neglect of all other important attributes of human beings such as 'the intelligence of feeling', aesthetic awareness, imagination, intuition, judgement, breadth of apprehension, initiative, creative capacity, relational skill, manual proficiency and capability in general affairs. The enemy of education is not a genuine regard for the intellect but arrogant intellectual elitism (Hemming 1980: 17).

For those who can play this academic game well, the rewards of scholastic success are most satisfying. For those who do not, it can be a most demoralising experience generating a sense of failure and inferiority. Failure and inferiority undermines confidence and confidence is, after all, what nourishes human capability. This experience of the young is also found in our Malaysian education system. According to Gomez in his paper Education for underprivileged students' at the Consumers' Association of Penang's (CAP's) Seminar on Education and Development last year, the education system creates 'misfits' among underprivileged students, making them regard themselves more and more as failures the longer they stay in school'. This 'negative self image' was 'reinforced by years of failure, by the attitude of teachers towards him and by such measures as streaming' and 'the experience of shool' for these children is 'humiliating and ego deflating'.

As the participants at CAP's seminar last year concluded, 'ideally education should play the multiple roles of imparting knowledge, nurturing ethical values, creating sensitive and humanised individuals, and producing citizens aware of both their responsibilities and rights in a democratic society'. However, the seminar noted that 'the reality is still far removed from this ideal situation' and several disturbing trends have emerged in the present Malaysian education system. The conclusions drawn by the participants at the close of the Seminar can be summarised as follows:

(1) The education system has not reduced inequalities in opportunities but may have in fact accentuated them. A very small percentage of poor children do well in schools compare to the far higher proportion of children from well-to-do families who succeed. Moreover, much more government educational aids are given to students from rich families than poor families.

(2) The formal school system also retains most of the characteristics of the colonial era. The main emphasis of the system remains the streaming and screening of students to sift out the 'bright' from the 'not-so-bright' and to concentrate the best teaching and material resources on the good students.

(3) These good students are then trained further to fit into the administrative, managerial and technical slots in the economic structure. Meanwhile, the students who do not do well are made to feel inferior and be failures, with the result that the education system has not benefited them much. The exam-oriented paper-chase system also produces individualistic, competitive, tense and often psychologically unhappy children and adolescents.

(4) With the stress on paper qualification and on technical knowledge, far too little place is given to the inculcation of ethical values and in creating awareness of the nature of democracy and citizen rights and responsibilities.

(5) Nor does the education system provide analysis of important societal problems or nurture in students the consciousness of their role in contributing to the welfare of the people. As a result, education cuts off students from involvement in social affairs and in the community.

(6) The end result is the creation of an elite group of students or graduates cut off from the mass of people and whose main goal is to obtain high salaries with little commitment to social affairs. There is the larger population of students who are made 'underpriviledged'.

(7) The education system has thus largely failed in the tasks of creating good citizens with socially-oriented values and motivation who understand their rights as well as their need to contribute to development.

(8) In terms of the curriculum of many subjects, there is also an unsatisfactory situation. Students in the 'science stream' the almost completely cut off from social knowledge because of the strict boundaries of their disciplines and even the ethical and philosophical issues surrounding the sciences are not dealt with in the curriculum.

(9) In the arts, humanities and social sciences, there is much more to be done to attune the curricula to the real life and often acute problems of society. For instance, environmental issues have yet to be satisfactorily incorporated in geography or the physical sciences.

(10) At the same time, disciplines such as history, economics sociology and anthropology are still based too much on concepts and curricula which are derived from the western countries. They thus fail to portray correctly the actual situation of the country. Instead the situation is explained in terms of colonial attitudes and concepts (CAP 1984: 173–5).

In fact the compartmentalisation of knowledge within the academic tradition into self-contained domains makes knowledge and learning segmented and distorted. This makes it very difficult for the young, except the very gifted, to connect what they learn into a coherent pattern. Students are not given an understanding of the inter-relationships of the things they learn. They are not able to relate it to real life situations and experiences and they merely learn for the sake of learning and passing exams. The subjects are not 'alive' or 'real' and that is why most students forget what they have learnt when the examinations are over. According to Hemming 'learning that has no roots in continuing experience soon gets forgotten' and it 'cuts off young people from understanding the interdependent nature of things, which is an essential quality of mind in the modern world' (Hemming, 1980: 21).

As we all know, adolescence is an intense period of development and discovery of one's physical growth, emotions and sexulity. It is also a period when aesthetic sensitivity sharpens, the need to acquire social skills is urgently felt and intelligence begins to develop. More important, it is also a time when the young experience the need for recognition and acceptance, the longing to achieve and to be regarded as 'having arrived'. But in our schools, where the overwhelming emphasis is on academic excellence, the experience of the non-academic majority – the low achievers – can be most painful to say the least. How else can they achieve some semblance of self-esteem except outside of school life and what better way is there than to hit back at 'respectable society'. So we are faced with the juvenile delinquents, the vandals, the hooligans, the exhibitionists, the drug addicts, and the petty thieves and criminals. These then are the unfortunate young adults, whose lives are unfulfilled and have come to naught. According to Hemming, 'it is the academic illusion that has created these angry young men many of whom have considerable untapped potentiality' (Hemming, 1980:19). Of course, one does not mean to say that the schools are *exclusively* responsible for this state of affairs. But the school system, because it does not sufficiently allow for the development of the personal abilities, interests and talents of the less academically inclined, must accept considerable part of the responsibility as most of them do not give sufficient attention to personal development or the development of personal competence.

The sense of defeatism and helplessness is seen among our low achievers as well. In a study of an urban, male secondary school, two researchers found that the majority of our academically poorer students were indifferent to their studies. Most of the boys spent their time after school in 'a desultory manner hanging around supermarkets and shopping complexes, smoking, chit-chatting with their peers or making a nuisance of themselves' (Hui and Ling, 1982:113). According to both researches, the poor academic performance of these young boys is reflected in their poor achievement, disinterest, boredom or disruptive behaviours and frustration which usually results in acts of indiscipline.

'This is their way to tell the teachers who teach them that they want and need more attention and help because they cannot cope with the skills that are being taught' (Hui and Ling, 1982:113). For these ordinary youngsters, there is virtually no outlet or opportunity to attain confidence, acquire self awareness, face challenges or be accepted as mature and responsible adults that is within the range of *their* abilities and powers when they drop out of the meritocracy race in the school system. It is significant to note that delinquency and vandalism are growing problems in our schools and no less the fact that Malaysia has the highest heroine drug addiction rate is Asia (*The Asian Wall Street Journal*, 10 January, 1984) and most of these addicts are between the ages of 16–30.

In the absence of some means to prove their sense of worth and feel good about themselves as people and growing adults, the young turn to the shows, pop songs, magazines and comics and several other channels of the mass media. The objective of the consumer culture is to persuade the consumer to buy more products regardless of whether they are useful or safe. As a result of this consumer culture, the consumer is made to feel inferior and insecure unless he or she conforms to its norms. Young people are taught to think that the meaning of life is to be fashionable and in today's language, 'doing your thing'. That to be a man, one must smoke a cigarette, down an 'anchor', wear tight jeans, speed on a motorcycle at 90 m.p.h.. To be an attractive female, one must put on make-up, do one's hair in the latest fashion, be coy and helpness, and fashionable of course. Thus a whole new generation of people have been brought up with the main aim in life of grabbing for themselves as many things as possible. People want to possess more and better things than their neighbours or friends because this gives them a higher status and prestige. This consumer culture generates egoism, individualism and rivalry between man and man who measure each other's worth according to how big his house is, how beautiful his wife is and how smart his children are.

Given this scenario among the youth, it would be pertinent to ask at this juncture, how has the education system contributed to these negative values? One academic has summed up her analysis of the Malaysian education system thus,

> ... the Malaysian school system basically upholds traditionalism and is achievement oriented and individualistic in approach, values which tend to reinforce symbols of materialism and status. The spirit of sacrifice, service and commitment are seldom inculcated in the young through the curriculum. Instead of co-operation, there is the sense of competition between dividuals' (Leong, 1982:156)).

In another study, on Malaysian adolescents in schools, the researchers concluded that our young people 'lack self-confidence, feel inferior, are timid and shy, sensitive, easily hurt and easily embarrassed' (Chiam and Nik Aziz, 1982:28). The study also revealed that these adolescents have difficulty in differentiating between right and wrong. 'They do not have an internal set of values that will enable them to make the appropriate judgements and decisions' (Chiam and Nik Aziz, 1982:30). More significantly, the findings indicate that contrary to popular belief, these adolescents are responsible individuals troubled about their childish behaviours, anxious about their future, and who have a great deal of idealism.

If the above findings are an indication of the kind of individuals our school system creates, it shows that school has failed in the all-round development of the personality and it has not given a large number of our young people a sense of personal competence, a feeling of humaneness and co-operation and shared responsibility to one another. Schools, it would appear, does not prepare the young for life.

The Need For Consumer Education

Despite the school system, the young, to their credit, are seeking a purpose in life. They want to be inspired, to believe and share in something that transcends themselves – ideals, values, human goodness, brotherhood, truth, justice – and they are yearning for commitment. With increasing urbanisation and the breakdown of the extended family and traditional belief systems and values, the effect on the young is most profound. There is thus a dire need for the education system to provide some alternative to fill the vacuum as it was. In this traditional belief systems and values, the consequences of these on the young are most profound. There is thus a dire need for the education system to provide some alternative, to fill the vacuum as it were. In this context, consumer education as an education for living has an important role to play. As has been mentioned many times before by consumer advocates, environmentalists, concerned citizens and politicians, the issues and problems in consumerism are issues that touch our very lives – these are not just academic or philosophical problems but also problems and issues which affect consumers as we try to earn a living and live our everyday lives. What better place is there to start this 'education for life' than in the classroom. It is within these walls that we will find the citizens of tomorrow and it is also here that one can inculcate the values of consumer education to prepare the young for the responsibilities and issues that they will have to grapple with as citizens of tomorrow. This is the aim of consumer education and the basis of CAP's work.

MAJOR ISSUES IN CONSUMER EDUCATION

The following are some of the major issues that consumer education addresses itself to.

Problems of Consumer Culture and the Young

Historically, many of the developing nations were colonised and during this period, many of our countries were taught to look towards the 'mother country' for standards of civilisation, culture and learning. Thus the metropolitan culture was glorified and emulated while local or indigenous culture was denigrated and rejected. In this manner, colonised peoples were imbued with an inferiority complex that has continued to the present day in the form of the imported consumer culture. However, the cultural colonisation taking place today is unprecedented in human history. The mass culture transfer from the industrialised countries through the mass media and high powered advertising by trans-national corporations penetrates and permeates every strata of our society and even the most remote corner of our nation. The taste of America beckons from billboards and street corners persuading us to smoke a cigarette. On the newspaper stands in stations and terminals, a woman's magazine cajoles women into having a 'love affair' with the latest perfume. Inside the cinemas, thousands of ordinary people watch as the screen flashes bikini clad girls singing 'This is the beer! This is the life'. Every weekend in every big hotel, hundreds of young people dance to disco music while fast food joints, pinball machine centres, and bowling alleys are full of teenagers and students. This invasion of foreign images, standardised music, television programmes, dress and food 'takes over ways of thinking and ways of life'. This mass culture controls our minds and enslaves our people. We look towards the West for almost everything. Even our children have not escaped unscathed. In one survey conducted by CAP among 50 children between 5–12 years old, they were asked which country would they consider to be the best in the world and almost half of them said America. None, however, mentioned Malaysia. But the ones most susceptible to this 'Westoxication' are our vulnerable and impressionable young people.

The consumer lifestyle is further reinforced by the dominant value system in our society where careerism, financial success and hedonism have taken the front seat and where one is motivated in life to earn more money to consume more – be it gadget, or excitement. For the young, similar pressures to compete and perform appear in schools and among parents and peer groups so that no alternative values can take root or thrive. Young people are constantly looking for standards, cults and folk heroes. In the absence of any countervailing force, the consumer culture brainwashes them to think and believe that the meaning of life is to be fashionable just like the lives of the pop stars they see on the screen. Through slavish imitation, they are sucked into the mainstream of life-long consumption. The consumer culture is an insidious force. It lulls the young from the more serious things in life and it dulls their consciousness to the crucial problems and issues of life in our society.

Problems of Development Needs

Despite almost three development decades, the developing countries have failed to take off or achieved the level of economic prosperity of the developed world. What has happened instead is the increasing disparity between the developing and developed countries in terms of its consumption and lifestyle. Today, the industrialised countries account for only 16% of the world's population but use up as much as 57% of the energy but only consume 14% of the world's energy resources. Within the developing countries, the same pattern of development is reflected in the increasing income inequalities between the rich and the poor, and where the basic needs of some two-thirds of the population have yet to be satisfied. National development in developing nations is basically mimetic of the western model and its preoccupation with high economic growth in terms of the GNP, the stress on modern technology, industrialisation, urbanised growth and a wholly imported western lifestyle. This has resulted in the misuse of scarce resources, a deteriorating environment and quality of life for the majority of the population. Some of the problems include the following.

Inflation and Shortages of Basic Necessities

In the past ten years, prices of almost all basic commodities have been increasing at incredible rates. The general price level has risen by about 100 per cent. Since 1973, the price of sugar has trebled and fish prices have increased by more than two and a half times. In Kuala Lumpur, house prices have trebled in the last five years and more than doubled in less than two years. For the past three years, price increases have continued unabated with a wide range of goods from cooking oil, beef, fish, vegetables, shoes, cloth, cars, spare parts, bus fares, electricity rates and medical fees. In recent years, the price increases are accompanied by great and prolonged shortages of essential goods, for example, beef, fish, *belacan* (a paste), charcoal, diesel, and sugar. In many cases, these shortages were not real but artificially created by unscrupulous parties in order to make excessive profits.

Inflation is a top priority issue in national development for it has repercussions on the standard of living, the food and nutritional intake and the health of the population, especially the lower-income groups. In order to tackle the problem, consumers must exert pressure on producers and middle-men whenever and wherever prices are unfairly raised. This can only be done when consumers are aware of their rights and potential influence and it can come about through consumer education.

Dangerous and Defective Products

Another factor undermining consumer interests is the increasing sales of dangerous foodstuffs, drugs, and other products which threaten the safety and health of Malaysian consumers.

Recent CAP test-findings include: dangerous levels of dyes and additives (including banned chemicals) found in very popular foodstuffs and drinks; fresh fish containing a level of human and animal faeces 11,000 times above the safety level; popular brands of drugs and cosmetics containing lethal dosages of dangerous metals such as mercury, cadmium and lead; 'coffee powder' containing only 5% of real coffee grains, and tea leaves heavily contaminated with dangerous dyes; motor vehicles found to have defective gear boxes, bursting tires and self-shattering windscreens; loaves of bread and packets of rice found to be significantly short-weight; toys with sharp edges and which are inflammable and safety hazards to children; defective electrical appliances which can cause fires and electric shocks to users. In fact, many of the dangerous and substandard products are actually products which have been banned or withdrawn from the markets in industrialized countries but are dumped in the developing countries.

Problems of Basic Needs

Food and Nutrition

Although food is the most basic of all needs, the food producing sector has stagnated or even declined. The output of fisheries, vegetables and fruits has generally stagnated, resulting in a rapid rise in food prices. About one-third of the children in Peninsular Malaysia have been found to be suffering from malnutrition. Yet an overwhelming portion of the best land is used to cultivate export crops such as rubber, oil palm and cocoa or cash crops like tobacco.

Health Care

Despite being such a vital basic need, health received only 1 per cent of the federal government development budget in 1982. Given the poor water sanitation and health services in poor communities, especially in rural areas, there should be an emphasis on public health work and preventive medicine. Unfortunately, the health system is geared towards the curative aspects of health, with its emphasis on hospital construction and medical technology. In the Fourth Malaysia Plan, out of the $604 million allocated for health development, only $120 million is for rural health services whilst $347 million is allocated for constructing new hospitals or for hospital extensions. Again, the best medical personnel are increasingly flowing to private practice and private hospitals which only the wealthy can afford. Specialists are ironically treating the simpler 'cough-and-cold' illnesses of the rich and middle-class instead of more complex medical problems of the general population, indicating a gross under-utilisation of specialist medical services.

Water Supply

In 1970, only 48% of all houses in Malaysia were served with piped water and at least a third had no proper toilet facilities (20% had no toilet at all and used the river or bushes). This has serious health effects, as shown by the high incidence of cholera and other communicable diseases (in 1978, 62 people died from a cholera outbreak out of a total of 1,536 cases). According to Goh Kim Guan of Universiti Sains Malaysia, virtually 90% of the allocation for water supply development has been directed to improve the water supply system of urban areas like Kuala Lumpur and Penang, thus neglecting the poor rural areas which needed it the most.

Housing

There is a tremendous shortage of housing for the lower income groups, as indicated by the high incidence of squatters in towns (40% of the Kuala Lumpur and Klang Valley population are squatters). Yet in the Third Malaysia Plan, the public sector itself built 38,000 medium and high-priced houses or 44% more than the 26,000 units of low-cost houses. In the Fourth Plan, only 176,500 low-cost houses are planned for construction out of the total 400,000 units in the public sector programme. Private developers are targeted to build only 90,000 low-cost units as compared to 26,000 medium and high-priced housing. Housing is more and more a prerogative of the rich.

Public Transport

While billions of dollars are spent on the purchase of private motor cars, there has been a deterioration of public transport services on which the majority of people depend. The resources channelled for the benefit of private motorists are astronomical when we also include the costs of petrol and road construction and maintenance. Yet, bus services have not improved despite an increase in population.

Environmental Crisis

In Malaysia, the present generation is facing a series of environmental hazards. They include industrial and chemical pollution which is destroying marine life, croplands and the livelihood of fishing villagers and farmers (in Malaysia, 50 major rivers are so polluted that no fish life can survive); the rapid chopping down of forests at the rate of 1 million acres a year, resulting in the complete depletion of timber by 1990 (deforestation has led to the silting of rivers, the flooring of towns and villages, and a reduction of water flowing to reservoirs); the rapid diminishing of fish stocks due to overfishing by trawlers and pollution of the seas and rivers (the resulting fall in fish catch is causing hardships to 70,000 fishing families and has caused a drop in protein intake of the population); and industrialisation and problems in the working environment, including industrial accidents and occupational hazards. In Malaysia, there are 50,000 recorded industrial accidents a year and workers also suffer from exposure to dangerous chemicals and gases.

The present type of industrialisation being followed has also resulted in an environmental crisis of startling proportions. Actual events show that the environment and its resources are the very basis of development. The destruction of the environment will eventually also destroy the very basis for development and indeed the chances of man's survival.

By raising environmental consciousness through consumer education, CAP hopes eventually to bring about a change in developmental priorities away from blind adherence to economic growth towards a policy of conservation and ecologically sound development.

CONSUMER EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

The scenario of the present problems is the background to CAP's concerns and activities. Through its consumer education section, CAP provides training and educational services for many groups including school, college and university students, youths, women and workers.

In the schools, consumer education is carried out through seminars, workshops and workcamps for students and teachers, school exhibitions, leadership training programmes, talks and discussions, disseminating reading materials, screening slides and filmshows in schools and consumer clubs.

Given the curriculum overload in our schools, one is fully aware that the standard curriculum offers limited leeway for integrating consumer education. However, despite the limitations, many things can be achieved and realised if the zeal and committment is there. Consumer education (the section is taken from Ooi Kim Aun *'Peranan guru dalam memajukan pendidikan pengguna'* (The role of the teacher in consumer education), CAP pamphlet) can be taught in the (1) school curriculum and (2) extra-curricular activities.

School Curriculum

General Paper/Languages

In the teaching of languages, the questions set can be related to consumer and environmental issues in which students can express themselves. Good articles for comprehension, precis writing, translation etc. can be selected. Short stories which touch on the lives of people who have become victims of consumer and environmental problems can be used to make the young aware of such problems. Pupils can be made to review a book of this nature in their essay assignments. In the general paper and English language, examination questions have been set in the past on environment and consumer issues. Teachers should encourage and stimulate the young to read more articles on these topics.

Civics

This is a subject which allows more room for the integration of consumer education. Young consumers can be told about the dangers of irresponsible marketing, poor health and a polluted environment to make them more aware as consumers of the problems and issues they face. As good and responsible citizens, they should highlight these issues and try to overcome them. They can thus be taught the approaches to these issues, for example, bringing it to the attention of the press or authorities and making joint efforts as members of the community to solve the problems.

Geography

Facts given to students here can be related to man and his community. For example, when dealing with silting, erosion, bleaching and climatic changes, these facts can also be seen as aspects of environmental destruction which is man-made. Local example can be used. This enables students not only to absorb more facts but also to be aware of the seriousness of such phenomena. Thus if the lesson is soil erosion, teachers can add that in Malaysia, much of the soil erosion has been caused by deforestation which has also led to flooding and drought as seen in Kuala Lumpur.

Two notable examples, namely, Endau Rompin and the Tembeling Dam come into focus. At the height of the public campaign to save this national park a few years ago, many school children became aware of publicity. Pupils were asking why the trees were chopped. Similarly, the Tembeling Dam issue highlighted the problems of both environmental destruction and the fate of both aboriginal people and rural communities who would have to leave their ancestral and traditional homes because of the construction of the dam. Both these incidents provided an opportunity to relate the effects of siltation, drought, floods, destruction of aquatic and animal life and the displacement of viable communities to man-made decisions.

Similarly, when teaching 'the use and misuse of resources', it is important to stress that our resources like tin, coal, oil, fisheries, forests, land etc. must be used rationally. In teaching climate or temperature, one must also bring in the fact that man today can transform his climate through pollution, deforestation and urbanisation.

Commerce

Students doing commerce are only taught topics like book-keeping, trading and how companies make business etc. The consumers' viewpoint is never stressed. More attention can be given to consumer protection and this should be taught in more detail in school. The fact that every one is a consumer from the moment he comes into the world until he leaves it must be made known to all young consumers in school. As consumers, they have undeniable rights to:

(1) complain against cheating;
(2) compensation against damage;
(3) safety and good quality;
(4) a clean environment; and
(5) consumer education.

As such, they should be made to realise that awareness must lead to action and therefore the need for collective action and the role that consumers' association can play.

For too long the 'how to make money' side of commerce has been the order of things. Teachers should also show the other side of the coin that rampant abuses like irresponsible marketing, sales gimmicks, unsafe goods and services exist in business.

Economics

The economics taught in schools talks about the factors of production, GNP, supply and demand, theory of the firm, profit maximisation, investment and savings. Economics and economic principles and concepts have been studied in terms of production. For the student, these are indeed remote and removed from reality. But surely one can reason for oneself that in any economic system, the end result of production must be consumption. This consumption has been sadly neglected in the economics we teach. Does production meet consumption needs? Are we producing necessary goods or luxury goods? Does GNP necessarily mean the quality of life? These are the crucial questions in economics.

Every student who does Keynesian economics is taught that production will increase when purchasing power increases. Have we really examine what constitutes 'purchasing power'? In times such as ours when consumers are living with inflation, how meaningful is 'purchasing power'? These mundane questions and issues should form the heart of economics education.

Home Science

Unlike what most people may believe, home science or domestic science is a very important subject in school. Unfortunately, the home science that the young are exposed to in school confines them to learning how to prepare dishes and manage a kitchen. The importance of nutrition, the dangers of junk and processed food and the changing habits in diet, for example, the consumption of fast foods in society, might have been left out.

Students should also be made aware of the cummulative aspects of pesticides in vegetables and fruits and the importance of natural foods in our diet need be stressed. In this manner, the science of home management will become more related to consumer and environmental issues which is what health, food and nutrition or home science should be all about.

Science

In the laboratories, elaborate and even intricate experiments are conducted. Much more of these can be consumer oriented. Students could learn to do simple tests of experiments, for example, test for vitamin C or DDT, the effects of monosodium glutamate, carcinogenic dyes and different forms of pollution. In so doing, consumer education becomes an enjoyable practical experience. In Biology, more attention should be given to food and nutrition, for example, the dangers of processed junk food and sweets.

Human and Social Biology, as the name implies, should stress on social and environmental health. It should teach students to understand the importance of preventive health care like sanitation, hygiene and nutrition. Students should also be made aware of the environmental effects on man and his health in the cities, home and the shop floor. By creating an awareness in these issues and problems, students will be inculcated with a sense of social responsibility to consumer and environmental issues which, very often, is missing in the laboratory experiments and scientific laws that our students are being taught.

Extra-curricular Activities

This refers to integrating consumer and environmental activities through the school societies which involves (1) schools with consumer societies and (2) schools without consumer societies. In schools without consumer societies, they should be given every encouragement to do so. However, they can still raise consumer and environmental issues in existing societies such as that of commerce, geography, co-operative, science and economics.

Discussions

Young consumers can be divided into various groups. Each group can deal with a consumer or environmental topic such as safety of goods, bus transport problem, use of pesticides and noise pollution. They can find these in the daily newspapers and in CAP's monthly magazine *Utusan Konsumer* (Consumer Message). During discussions, they should be encouraged to bring in their personal experiences from either the rural or urban areas.

Consumer Corner

Members of the society can be given a duty roster weekly to collect newspaper clippings from the major papers. They can look for news and issues related to consumers and the environment which can be displayed on notice boards. This will promote greater awareness of consumerism among the student population.

Library

The society can have a section within the library to house its books, articles, photographs etc. on consumer and environmental issues. When attractively displayed, students are likely to read these material.

Talks/Slide Shows

Talks can be held regularly. The society can invite CAP or other bodies to discuss environmental and consumer issues. People who are affected by these problems should be invited to talk about them. Slide shows and films are excellent media for heightening consumer and environmental awareness.

Exhibition

Once a year, the society can organise a small-scale exhibition on imitation goods, false labelling and dangerous foods. Charts and models may be displayed. In conjunction with this, a book exhibition can be held and sales of consumer and environmental books and the *Utusan* can also be promoted to raise the swareness of consumers.

Competitions

Consumer societies can organise a variety of competitions to encourage consumer and environmental awareness. These include quizzes, essay contests, poster competitions, debates and photography which can be held in school and at inter-school and state levels.

Surveys

Young consumers should be encouraged to find out things for themsleves. This learning through personal experience is a very effective means of education. They can carry out surveys and interview other consumers on problems and issues such as canteen food in schools, bus services, health and sanitation in the neighbourhood, food and nutrition, reading habits of the young, advertisements in television or newspapers, interviewing consumers in the *kampung* (villages), housing estates, flats and so on. Market surveys to monitor the trend of prices of foodstuffs, goods sold in shops and packaging should also be encouraged.

Field Trips

These can be part of a learning process combined with outdoor adventure. Young consumers may wish to visit areas affected by pollution or which have consumer and environmental problems. They can talk to villagers, farmers, fishermen and urban dwellers. Photographs of these visits can be used for the compilation of booklets for publication and distribution.

ANNUAL CAP SCHOOLS' EXHIBITION

Every year, CAP organises an interschool exhibition for schools in Penang on a particular theme related to consumerism and development. Some of these have included consumer safety and testing; the environment in crisis; health, food and nutrition; appropriate technology, culture and lifestyle; economics, development and the consumer; law, justice and the consumer; and education and development.

The aim of the exhibition is to make students aware of the crucial problems and issues in the nation and to instill in them a sense of social responsibility and concern regarding these issues. Students doing a project on a particular topic are encouraged to carry out library research, interview members of the public or experts in the field. At the end of it, they have to present their findings or conclusions in the form of models, charts and other audio-visual aids. Students write a report or summary of their project and this is distributed to members of the public. During the exhibition the students are expected to explain and answer questions from the public. This aspect of communication is important as they will be evaluated on their ability to convey information and explain their project.

Working on the project and taking part in the exhibition enables students to discover for themselves more about various subject matter. They are encouraged to work as a team, handle responsibility like budgeting, co-ordinate group meetings and divide work among themselves. The project also gives them an opportunity to relate to other students. More important, it gives them a sense of purpose, shared resonsibility and lessons in inter-personal relationships.

WORKSHOPS

CAP also occasionally organises workshops for student representatives from various consumer clubs. The aim of the workcamp is to familiarise students on consumer and environmental issues so that they can conduct similar activities in their own schools and towns. The major activities in the workcamps include:

(1) Talks and discussions on consumer-related problems like defective products, unethical marketing practices, consumer culture and ineffective consumer laws. Students are shown how to carry out surveys of these problems, complaints and act on them and organise consumer education activities in their own school, hometown or neighbourhood.

(2) Experiential learning where students are divided into groups and taken on field studies to carry out surveys of market conditions or areas affected by pollution. During these trips, they are encouraged to observe and note what they see. They also talk to the people concerned, for example, consumers who suffer from high prices or fishermen affected by marine pollution. At the end of the field trip, each group has to present their findings and views.

RESEARCH PAPER COMPETITION

These are conducted yearly for the upper secondary students on a particular theme, for instance, the hazards of smoking, the misuse of science and technology, occupational health hazards and industrial accidents and drug addiction among students. Students are given guidelines on how to carry out library research and write the paper.

SURVEYS

This comprises one of the major activities of the school societies. Students are encouraged to investigate consumer and environmental problems in their neighbourhood. For example, students are encouraged to survey their canteen food or the bus system or other topics.

From our experience, these surveys encourage the students to share and care for the day-to-day problems in the school or their neighbourhood. Because of this personal involvement, there is commitment in what they do and democracy as a value becomes alive. More than anything, it builds up their confidence and brings out their sensitivity and humaneness towards their fellowmen.

CONCLUSION

It is CAP's belief that consumer education can provide an alternation within the education system to enable young people to develop confidence and a sense of responsibility, think independently and formulate opinions as well as experience a more integrated learning process. By exposing them to real life situations, making them aware of the social and developmental issues and problems confronting contemporary society, and getting them involved in practical activities, consumer education can help to inculcate a sense of shared responsibility.

When young people are made aware of the everyday problems of living and their rights as consumers, and are encouraged to mobilise this awareness into action within their school community or neighbourhood, they are also learning a real life lesson in democracy. More crucial in our multi-ethnic society, consumer education deals with problems and issues which touch people in our society, irrespective of their ethnicity, religion or creed. In this manner, it can be a potential force in promoting a co-operative ethos instead of competition among our young people.

At the individual level, consumer education can help to develop some human and ecological values among the young to relate meaningfully to other human beings and nature. Consumer education provides an opportunity for a real encounter with life and in the process, young people can acquire a contemporary perspective of the world and their interdependent relationships – of man and man, man and nature, man and society, and the responsibilities that go with it.

What have been listed are ideals that represent the scope of activities available within consumer education and we cannot say that the aims have already been achieved. However, in practice, we have made a start towards accomplishing these aims and we still have a long way to go.

However, it must be recognised that teachers and the education authorities have a very crucial role in spreading consumer education albeit there are difficulties faced, some of which include the following:-

(1) Consumer education in the context of the developing countries is still a very new idea. As such, teachers and educators are hampered because of the lack of concepts to convey consumer education effectively to the young.

(2) More emphasis can be given if consumer education is included as a subject in the school curriculum. This would give a more holistic approach to consumer education than merely integrating it piecemeal into various subjects. In the Malaysian context, the education authorities should set up a committee comprising educators and consumer groups actively involved in consumer education to work on the syllabus.

(3) There is a dearth of printed materials, films and models on consumer education which can be effectively used in the school. As such, relevant materials should be developed in the form of both the printed and screen media.

(4) Teachers can play a very important role and the potential is there for them to make consumer education a rewarding and happy experience for the young as well as for the teachers themselves.

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Facing Tomorrow Successfully **

Hulman Sinaga

The theme of this paper is 'Preparation for adulthood: understanding the fundamental concepts and principles for success in living, working and relating to people'. Recognizing that living and working in this modern age is a complicated business, the literature was surveyed to find what kind of thinking has been done by others in helping adolescents to prepare themselves for their future.

It was found that a considerable amount of research and thinking have been done elsewhere on the matter of how a person is motivated to succeed. It has been recorded in *Psychological theories of motivation* that a number of alternative theories have been formulated to explain success motivation.

In particular, the theory of achievement motivation, as developed by the research group of David C. McClelland, has established a significant milestone in the road towards understanding the relationship between an individual's achievement motivation (as measured by the thematic apperception test (TAT), developed by Henry A. Murray to assess individual differences in the motive to enter an achievement situation) and his or her performance on selected tasks. It is interesting to note here that in 1953, McClelland and Atkinson published the book *The Achievement Motive* which documented the first year of work on the theory. Since then, several books and hundreds of articles have been written on it, both in the US and other countries such as West Germany.

These theoretical studies and conceptualisations have formed the basis for the development of programmes for the training of children, youth and adults to become successful in their chosen endeavour. For example, in the early 1960s, McClelland and his associates embarked on a research programme designed to determine whether the motive to achieve success could be instilled in adults. Alfred Alschuler reported on some efforts to educate adolescents to attain their maximum potential. McGraw Hill published in 1975 a series of lessons for upper primary and lower secondary school levels, using various media aids that teaches a child the behavioural strategy which will enable him to achieve his own goals. In the late 1970s, Zig Ziglar and Mamie McCullough originated the *I can course: preparing today's youth for America's tomorrow.* It is intended to build solid foundation which is needed in all aspects of life. These then are some of the attempts to formulate programmes to help adolescents prepare for adulthood.

This paper provides a brief report of a preliminary study made to survey the thinking of selected university students regarding the issue of *preparing adolescents for the responsibilities of adulthood*. The survey was made among a sample of second and fourth (final) year students enrolled in the pre-service teacher education programme of the School of Educational Studies of University of Science Malaysia. They were chosen on the assumption that as products of the Malaysian educational system, they would reflect fairly accurately the kind of thinking on the above issue that had taken place in the schools. We also wanted to see the kind of differences, if any, that existed between the thinking of those exposed to only about 70 hours of education courses and those with appropximately 500 hours of exposure.

In view of the current concern of the Ministry of Education that citizens, particularly its youth, learn to develop appropriate work ethics, we wanted to find some answers to the following questions:

(1) Do they (the sample population) think that certain concepts and principles for success are useful to adolescents in order to prepare them for adulthood?
(2) If these are useful, should they be taught to students in schools as part of their formal education?
(3) What kind of help did they get in schools to acquire these principles?
(4) What concepts and principles for success do they perceive to be particularly useful to discuss?

In analysing eight local studies relating to the nature of some of the schooling experience of our adolescents and the instructional approaches as well as distancing strategies employed by their teachers, we can tentatively state that our youth are not too well prepared for their future.

SYMPOSIUM VI B : Non-Formal Education for Adolescents and Youths

CHAIRPERSON	*Mrs. Cheng Yin Mooi*
RAPPORTEUR	*Miss Noraini Mohd Salleh*

A Conceptual Model on the Education and Training of Adolescents**

Chuda Nath Aryal

The forces of change within societies in this modern world – development and urbanisation, the population explosion, the revolution of rising expectations and the ever-expanding horizons of knowledge – have potentials to affect the personal and social perimeters of human existence. These forces and their implications on everyday life serve as an adequate rationale for contemplating on the nature and kind of education to be imparted to the younger generation on the assumption that a viable education contributes considerably in the progressive reconstruction of societies.

Modern education contains several perversions of common sense. The end of schooling does not develop individuality of persons to its full stature. The poorer countries import ideas and advice of richer donor countries for their educational development which may not meet the needs of the development of the country. Modern schools have become excessively secular, atheist and prejudicial to the common sense on morality, goodness and the spiritual.

This paper examines some premises/principles of education for modern living. Eight constituents which comply with the suggested premises/principles of education are given. The eight constituents which represent the appropriate kind of education for adolescents are suggested as:

(1) Epistemological
(2) Development orientation
(3) Ecological
(4) Life habits
(5) Parenthood

(6) Skill generation
(7) Citizenship
(8) Comparative perceptions on human cultures

For the success of any programme of social reform including any educational reform programme, the clientele for whom the programme is intended must be aware of two social variables – the power variable including participation with power, and the cognition variable (education) including the power to interpret the realities at their sources.

An Approach to Introducing Family-Life Education to Youth*

Indra Pathmanathan and Shanti Dairiam

INTRODUCTION

Family Life Education (FLE) has been defined and described in various ways. One attractive and comprehensive approach shows FLE as catering to individual needs leading to personal growth and enabling the individual to function as a responsible member of the family and society.[1] This includes the ability to cope with physical and emotional changes associated with growing up, establishing and maintaining satisfying relationships with family, friends and society at large, developing values and skills for successful marriage and child rearing, and playing positive roles within the family, community and society in the face of changing social conditions.

In Malaysia, an unprecedented rate of socio-economic change over the past two decades has created conditions where there is a great need for programmes that can contribute effectively towards the goals of FLE. The proportion of youth population (15–24 years) is high (21%) and has increased during the last decade (see Table 1).

There is a rapid rural-urban drift with 35% of the population living in urban areas in 1980 as compared to only 28.8% in 1970.[2] This has been associated with an increasing number of women in the labour force.[3] The social effects of these changes are becoming visible in many ways. The

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*This paper is based on the Family Life Education/Responsible Living Project of the Federation of Family Planning Associations, Malaysia, funded by UNFPA. The Curriculum Development Group consisted of Indra Pathmanathan (chairman), Chiam Heng Keng, T. Chelliah, Mary Tay and G. M. Paranjothy.

Table 1
Age Distribution of Population Below 25 Years

	0 – 4 years		5 – 14 years		14 – 24 years	
Year	N (in '000)	%	N (in '000)	%	N (in '000)	%
1970	1651.5	16	3033.1	29	2004.9	19
1980	1779.6	14	3416.3	26	2758.6	21

Source. Malaysia, Department of Statistics, *Population and housing census of Malaysia*, v. 1, 1980.

Juvenile Courts are dealing with an increasing number and type of cases.[4] Drug abuse is recognised as a major national problem. Studies on drug dependents volunteering for treatment and of drug abuse among school children in Malaysia show that the largest group of addicts is in the 21–25 years age group[5] and the most vulnerable age for initation into drug abuse is 16 – 20 years.[6] The spectacle of large numbers of youth loitering along the corridors of supermarkets idling their time away is common in every Malaysian town and has been described as 'Malaysia's example of a counter-culture in the marking'.[7]

In this social environment, the task of introducing FLE effectively into the community assumes major importance. Since the nature of FLE is such that it involves the development of the individual, any successful approach requires a programme that will have continuing contact with the individual over a period of many months or perhaps years. Furthermore, in order to have an impact on the community, it should be able to reach a sizeable proportion of the eligible youth population. In Malaysia, it is estimated that about 73% of the school-age population i.e. 6–18 years, will be enrolled in Government schools in 1985.[8] Therefore a school-based programme has the potential of reaching an appreciable proportion of the youth. However, the Malaysian school curriculum is greatly orientated towards academic excellence. Although some components of what may be regarded as an FLE curriculum are already part of the school curriculum, these topics share the characteristic of the rest of the school curriculum, that of having a heavy bias towards cognitive objectives and their contribution towards the individual's emotional and social development are not emphasised. Therefore, it is appropriate to consider extra-curricular strategies for educating school going youngsters. Voluntary youth organisations provide an obvious channel for such a strategy.

FAMILY PLANNING ASSOCIATIONS AND FLE

In Malaysia, Family Planning Associations (FPAs) which are voluntary organisations played a pioneering role in introducing the concept of planned parenthood and mobilising community pressures for the evolution of a national, Government sponsored family planning programmes. When a National Family Planning Board was created in the late 1960s, the voluntary FPAs revised their role to complement that of the public sector Board. The FPAs, realising that family planning objectives could not be achieved through a purely contraceptive approach, turned their attention to other issues such as the status of women and strengthening of the family unit. This led to an interest in FLE activities. Some of the approaches that were attempted were the establishment of Family Centres catering for joint family activities, activities aimed at women, and an educational programme for youth.

EVOLUTION OF A STRATEGY FOR AN FLE PROGRAMME

The concept of a programme for youth evolved in slow stages. The FPA, recognising that it had a limited capacity and resources to educate large numbers of youth on a continuing basis, conceived a strategy where it would play the role of a catalyst and co-ordinator to enlist a number of existing voluntary youth organisations to participate in a co-ordinated effort in introducing FLE into their own regular activities.

In 1973, the FPA carried out a survey of 32 voluntary organisation to assess their potential interest in and capacity for participating in an FLE programme. This survey[9] helped to identify youth organisations that had:

(1) a large membership and maintained continuity of membership and
(2) goals that would be consonant with preparing youth for family life and responsible parenthood and with an infrastructure that could support an FLE programme.

This was followed by a series of three workshops for voluntary organisations aimed at getting these organisations to identify basic needs for FLE, generate project ideas, objectives and implementation tactics, and identify potential resources.

These preliminary steps served as a basis for:

(1) identifying six youth organisations of which three had continuing contact with youth for a period of 2–3 years and a total membership of 150,000 while the other three had only sporadic short-term contact with youth but were very enthusiastic about FLE.
(2) identifying a need for developing an FLE curriculum suited to the Malaysian socio-cultural context that could be used by these youth organisations in which the majority of trainers were school teachers

who participated in youth organisations as an extra-curricular activity.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The curriculum development process involved a complex series of interactions between the youth organisations who were to serve as vehicles for the FLE programme and a team of academicians recruited in 1981 by the FPA to serve on a voluntary basis as a curriculum development group. The FPA provided the supportive infrastructure to co-ordinate the work of the curriculum development group with the needs of the youth organisations and to acquire and channel the funding required for the project.

The Curriculum Development Group (CDG) reviewed the available data on youth problems and attitudes in Malaysia and identified a number of topics for inclusion in the FLE curriculum. The selected youth organisations reviewed these topics and submitted comments and requests. This formed the basis for developing a curriculum composed of five units (see Table 2), each of which could be used independently or in a linked fashion. This permits flexibility in fitting into the existing programme activities of the youth organisations.

Table 2
Curriculum Content

Unit	Topics
I	Physical and Emotional Growth of the Adolescent Physical growth and changes. Development towards emotional maturity. Factors associated with stress.
II	Health for Youth I Physiology of reproduction. Healthful living: nutrition and recreation.
III	Health for Youth II Smoking Drug abuse Alcoholism Sexually transmitted diseases.
IV	Value Development Beliefs and values. Philosophy of life. Moral code of ethics. Personal independence and social responsibility. Sexual exploitation in society.
V	Family Development Friendship The family Marriage Family economics.

For each topic, the CDG developed educational objectives, content, suggested learning activities, a set of background reading materials to help prepare trainers and audio-visual materials (films, transparencies, pamphlets for students, outlines for classroom exercises) for use during the sessions (see Table 3).

Table 3
An Extract from the Initial Curriculum Health for Youth II: Smoking

Teaching Objectives	Basic Content	Learning Activities	No. of Hours
To understand the hazards of smoking	The smoking habit Who are cigarette smokers Why do people smoke Effect on health Harmful constituents Financial cost Consumer rights How to stop smoking Prevention of smoking	Film: 'Smoking: its your choice'. Discussion session Suggested questions: (1) Why do people smoke? (2) Is smoking an addiction etc.? Assignment on financial cost of smoking. Evaluation: multiple choice questions.	1½ hours

A strategy for introducing this curriculum was evolved whereby the FPA in each state in Malaysia would recruit a group of volunteers with skills in FLE and these resource groups, after an initial orientation to the curriculum by the CDG, would train the youth organisation trainers in their respective geographic regions.

FEEDBACK FROM PRE-TESTING THE CURRICULUM

The pre-test of the curriculum in 1982 was designed to provide feedback on:

(1) the curriculum content and methodology in terms of relevance and interest to participants and suitability of level of approach in terms of the competencies of youth trainers and target youth groups.

(2) the feasibility of strategy for the implementation of the curriculum using the Stage Family Planning Associations as resource centres to train youth trainers and provide back-up in terms of specialised manpower, reading materials and teaching equipment.

Three of the six participating youth organisations pretested the curriculum on their youth members. A total of 163 youth in five groups aged 15–24 years, some urban and others rural, participated in the pre-test. Feedback was obtained on the perceptions of the youth as well as the youth trainers regarding curriculum content and methodology. The main results of the pre-test were:

(1) All the topics that were pretested were found to be relevant and the methodology was judged to be very interesting.

(2) Some topics were excluded from the pretest by some trainers either because they decided that the topic was not relevant or because they did not feel comfortable with the content or methodology.

(3) The level of approach in many topics was deemed to be 'too academic', and there was strong feedback that many youth trainers were unfamiliar with training situation that did not require them to 'lecture'. There were requests for guidelines on 'how to conduct to group discussion' and 'role play'.

(4) In certain schools and other centres where the FLE curriculum was pretested, electricity, film projectors etc. were not available. Hence requests were made for alternative methodology to be developed to substitute for sessions requiring the use of films and other audio visual materials.

Four State Family Planning Associations (SFPAs) were selected to participate in the pretest stage because they appeared to be able to recruit a relatively strong team of resource persons to serve as project trainers in their respective states. It was evident from the feedback from the pretesting conducted by these SFPAs that:

(1) Since all 'resource persons' were voluntary workers with their respective FPAs their participation in the project had a rather 'free-wheeling' style. None of the teams of resource persons were able to implement the curriculum on their own. Each team resorted to inviting a variety of 'lecturers' who were considered 'experts' in their respective areas, and these 'experts' tended to deal with each topic according to their own perceptions rather than to pretest the curriculum that had been developed.

(2) Feedback from participants at the pretesting sessions conducted by the SFPAs indicated that almost 50% found the level of approach to be 'too difficult'.

As a result of this pretesting exercise, both the curriculum and the implementation strategy were modified. Recognising that the major constrain was the scarcity of trainers with competencies in dealing with a curriculum that required student-centred learning activities as well as a wide-spread unfamiliarity with the content of an FLE programme, a manual based on the curriculum was developed during 1983. This manual spelt out the content and methodology in detail for each topic in the curriculum (Table 4).

For each topic, there is a section describing in detail the activity involved during the student contact period (Table 4a). In addition there are 'worksheets' (classroom exercises, guidelines for small group discussions, suggested techniques to initiate classroom discussion on particular topics, detailed instructions for role play session etc. (Table 4b), lesson notes (Table 4c) for trainers to prepare themselves before a session and audio-visual materials (transparencies, pamphlets etc.).

Table 4
An Extract from Revised Curriculum
Health for Youth II: Smoking

(a) Activity

Purpose:
(1) Understand the physiological effects of cigarette smoking on the cardiovascular, respiratory and nervous systems.
(2) Recognise the ill health and diseases that smokers risk in suffering.
(3) Recognise why people smoke and consider the validity of the motivation behind smoking.

Time Required: 1½ hours.

Materials:
(1) Film: 'Smoking: its your choice'.
(2) 16 mm. projector and screen.
(3) OHP and screen.
(4) Transparencies: (provided with the manual)
    Athletic performance and smoking
    Death rates of smokers versus non-smokers
    Smoking and disability
(5) Worksheet – 3.1.1w
(6) Handouts for students
    To smoke or not to smoke
    Cigarette smoking. The fact about your lungs
(7) Lesson notes on smoking.

Procedure:
(1) Introduce the topic to participants.
(2) Distribute worksheet 3.1.1w. Instruct participants to read it before the film starts and fill in as many answers as they can.
(3) Show the film and instruct participants to look out for facts as they watch the film and alter or add to their answers on the worksheet.

(b) Extract from Worksheet 3.1.1.w.

(1) How much do you know about cigarette smoking?
(2) How much more can you find out from the film you are going to see?
(3) What reasons do smokers give for smoking?
(4) In your personal opinion, is each reason justified?

(c) Extract from Lesson Notes

(1) Cigarette smoking in society
    Cigarette smoking is a habit that has gained popularity only in recent times etc.
(2) Who are cigarette smokers in a community? Smoking is particularly popular among younger age groups (below 30 years) and lower income groups.
(3) Why do people smoke? Many studies have shown that teenage smokers cite the following reasons for starting to smoke: to conform to expectations and pressures from their friends who smoke.

This Manual is envisaged to be an aid to the inexperienced and insecure youth trainer faced with the unfamiliar task of implementing an FLE programme. As trainers become more familiar with the content and methodology, they are encouraged to use the Manual as reference source rather than an authoritative 'guide'.

It was recognised that the SFPAs dependence on volunteers for resources would be inadequate for the task of preparing youth trainers from the various youth organisations. Hence the training mechanism already existing within the larger youth organisations (e.g. Scouts, Guides, St. John's) was identified as the suitable channel for introducing FLE to the youth trainers. Furthermore, this strategy would facilitate the integration of the FLE curriculum into the existing activities of each youth organisation. Therefore, a revised strategy was designed whereby the CDG augmented by a few handpicked resource persons would introduce the Curriculum and the Manual to the existing organisation trainers within the voluntary organisations who, in turn, would prepare their own youth trainers (Table 5). The new curriculum, manual and strategy were re-tested in early 1984 and appear to have much greater acceptability.

Table 5
Training Resources Within Selected Youth Organisations

Organisation	Youth Organisation Trainers	Youth Trainers
Guides	20	200
Scouts	30	200
St. John's Ambulance	3	50
Ministry of Youth	4	200
YMCA	5	50

DISCUSSION

Curriculum development and planning of strategies for implementation of educational programmes in developing countries are usually the functions of agencies in the public sector. These agencies have access to resources and infrastructure that are funded and maintained by the government. The Malaysian FPA's effort in developing an FLE curriculum is a pioneering experience in using private sector infrastructure and volunteer resources together with limited funding from an international agency. This experience has demonstrated the potential in the voluntary private sector for educational developmental activities that supplement the public sector efforts. It has also identified the constraints that need to be recognised and the types of approaches that auger for success.

In summary, the major lessons that have emerged from the Malaysian FPA experience are:

(1) Projects of the nature in the private voluntary sector require a long gestation period from the time the idea is conceived until it becomes a reality – this project has been eleven years in the making. Since voluntary agencies often have a rapid turnover of volunteer staff, one of the greatest problems is sustaining interest and motivation for the project. This must necessarily be the role of full-time paid officers of the voluntary organisation.

(2) An effective FLE programme for a developing country needs to consider demographic and social characteristics such as high proportions of youth in the population, scarcity of manpower with skills in implementing non-didactic FLE programmes, and lack of social organisations that reach large numbers of youth on a continuing basis. Identification of existing social organisations that reach large numbers of youth and maintain contact with individuals for a sufficiently long period to serve as a vehicles for a FLE programme is essential. The FLE curriculum has then to be developed taking into cognizance not only the educational and social needs for youth but also the strengths and limitations of the trainers in the youth organisations and the conditions under which they work with youth. A curriculum that requires the youth trainers to do much reading and self study to prepare themselves is not likely to find acceptance with trainers. Also, they need to be supported while they develop skills in non-didactic teaching situations. This support must be in an 'easy to read and understand' form.

(3) An innovative FLE curriculum can be threatening to potential trainers who do not feel confident to implement it. An immediate reaction appears to be to categorise the curriculum or parts of it as 'unsuitable' or 'insensitive'. The provision of audio-visual aids and simple lesson notes appears to increase the confidence of trainers and to make the new topics more acceptable.

(4) Early as well as continuing involvement of policy makers and key personnel from the organisations that have been identified to serve as vehicles for the FLE programme is essential. If the potential implementing agencies are voluntary organisations as in this project, many problems arise due to weaknesses in internal communication mechanisms within the organisations. The successful evolution of the project from one stage to the next depends to a great extent on the ability of the co-ordinaters to build in 'fail safe' mechanisms to ensure adequate communication.

1 World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession and International Planned Parenthood Federation, *Introducing family life education: a guide for teachers organisations*, December, 1978.

2. Malaysia, *Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981–1985*, Kuala Lumpur, National Printing Department, 1981, p. 78.

3. Malaysia, Ministry of Finance, *Economic Report 1982/1983*, v. 2, Kuala Lumpur, National Printing Department, 1981, p. 159.

4. T. Chelliah, 'Social change and family life education', presented at the National Conference on Adolescents, Malaysia, 2–5 August 1982, p. 72.

5. V. Navaratnam and P. Spencer, 'Medical social study of drug dependents volunteering for treatment at General Hospital', University Science Malaysia, National Drug Research Centre, 1976.

6. *Ibid.*, Table 4.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

9. Federation of Family Planning Associations, Malaysia, *Survey on voluntary organisations*, Kuala Lumpur, 1973.

Youth Activism Through Leisure, Sport and Co-Curricular Programmes from a National Perspective **

T. Vasudevan

Today, youths are one of the major preoccupation of many international agencies and most national governments and non-governmental organisations. The definitions and roles ascribed to youth are many and varied, and thus should be relevant to the personality needs and aspirations of the individual. It is interesting to observe that most countries seem to be highly concerned for the general welfare of their youths though they may have pressing problems pertaining to political and economic pressures. Often, the national leaders have strived to respect the individual and uphold the principles of equality and justice.

Youths are most open to new ideas and challenges. It is therefore essential that all the available resources must be utilised to develop them into personalities who will be assets to the nation. It is here that the educational system through a systematic sports science, physical education, leisure, recreation and stimulating co-curricular programmes can make a very positive contribution to the nation.

Various means by which physical education can be taught to youths are described in the paper. These include the school, different types of recreation, co-curricular activities, clubs and societies, and laboratory sessions. The benefits of such programmes for recreation and leisure are enumerated. The physical education programmes must be tailored to the socio-cultural background and personality need dimensions of youths.

The paper suggests and discusses a programme that planners for sports, leisure, recreation activities should consider in terms of the characteristics of each age group of youths and the type of activities which would be suitable for the specific characteristic group.

Recommendations for an effective and meaningful recreational and sports programmes for Malaysian schools and college where a large population of youth are involved contain three main points which are discussed below.

Firstly, the breadth and depth of the subject demands a high level of specialist teaching in many of the practical and theoretical areas. Without this, courses will lack validity, integrity, interest and quality. In the realm of practical work, for example, games, gymnastics, swimming and dance and recreation management require the services of lecturers and instructors with highly individual specialisations. The same applies to theoretical studies which require specialists in a number of sciences and in mechanics, psychology, sociology and philosophy.

Secondly, the subject also demands extensive and appropriate equipment and facilities. The unappealing prospect of poor facilities and programmes discourages teachers and instructors from conducting proper lessons. It is encouraging that Education State Departments have begun to appoint co-ordinators with the direct responsibility for developing the school sports physical education and co-curricular activities.

Thirdly, there are strong grounds for requesting compulsory sports and recreational classes in the school curriculum. Although the subject is compulsory, administrators occassionally tend to cancel these class activities on the slighest pretext. As a result of the above, pupils and parents seem to demonstrate little regard for sports and leisure activities. To remedy the situation, administrators ought to demonstrate greater motivation, encouragement and commitment for the sports and recreational programmes in their respective schools and community centres.

SYMPOSIUM VI C : Community Involvement in Preschool Education

CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor T. Marimuthu*
RAPPORTEUR	*Dr. Ngui Kuan Sang*

Parents and Preschool Group: Training Materials

Colin R. Palmer and Diana E. Dobson

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

One of the principal aims of the Preschool Playgroups Association (PPA) is *to enhance the development and education of children under statutory school age by encouraging parents to understand and provide for the needs of their children through community groups.* Its function is therefore essentially two-fold: to provide for the development of the child and to provide for the development of the parent. The Association perceives these two functions as having a symbiotic relationship with the development of the child being encouraged through the development of the parent which is stimulated by a growing awareness of the child's developmental needs.

This process is achieved through community preschool groups which are run as a voluntary activity by parents. They cannot exist unless the following are found:

(1) premises in which to hold them,
(2) parents to lead them day by day,
(3) parents to manage them,
(4) money to fund them, and above all
(5) commitment to continue them.

The recognition of the value of this particular form of preschool education has developed gradually since the PPA was founded in 1961. At that stage, playgroups were seen as a very inferior alternative to state-provided nursery education and when the Education White Paper *Framework for Expansion* was published by the Secretary of State in 1972 (Cmnd 5174, 1972), the Association expected to see a rapid and permanent decline in the need for parent-run playgroups. In the event, the anticipated expansion in nursery education only occurred in very localised pockets. More importantly in the first ten years of PPA's existence, the parents involved in those early groups began to realise that there were some very positive virtues in a system where parents themselves took direct responsibility for the involvement in the preschool provision for their own children.

As this awareness grew, the Association found itself developing a dynamic all of its own. Since very few parents were in any sense trained for the tasks they had begun to undertake, a demand for training appeared very early on. This demand was met but in a very piecemeal fashion depending on what was available locally and there was no nationally recognised curriculum of any sort. Despite this, demand for training was high. Some very useful courses were developed and the limited resources available were widely used.

As the Association's aim to provide for the development of the parent as well as the child evolved, so did the style of training and in 1975, a nationally recognised curriculum, *Guidelines for a Playgroup Foundation Course* was published (Pre-school Playgroups Association, 1975). Stimulated by response to the new curriculum, the Association began to develop alongside it courses for training its own tutors. Both of these initiatives encouraged the use of existing curriculum materials which, by 1975, included slides, films, books and leaflets.

After a period of five years, the Association reviewed the curriculum guidelines and in so doing identified some major new concerns. These included the need:

(1) to encourage and stimulate parental involvement,
(2) for more and new training materials for student and tutor use,
(3) for training the trainers or tutoring the tutors in the use of new learning media, and
(4) to validate training materials.

Awareness of the latter is just emerging.

This then was the starting point of the project which had the following aim: *To develop learning resource materials illustrating effective strategies currently operating in pre-school groups which enable parents to become involved in a variety of ways*. There was also a second aim which was to see if there was any substance to our belief that voluntary organisations and universities could pool their experiences and skills in attempting the solution of training problems facing the voluntary organisation.

Parental involvement was identified in terms of three topic or component areas:

Topic 1: First Impressions

Attention here was to focus on the parents' first approaches to the preschool group and the very early days of their membership of it.

Topic 2: Learning Together

This topic was to illustrate one of the issues central to the Association's philosophy: the development of the parents through a growing awareness and knowledge of their childrens' developmental needs and how to meet them.

Topic 3: Branching Out

The theme of this topic was to demonstrate how involvement in a preschool group could encourage parents to have a wider interest in their community and its needs after their children had moved on to full time schooling.

TARGET POPULATION

The project aimed to produce resource materials that would stimulate discussion rather than present a didactic view. It was also important to recognise that while course students were the principal target audience, it was the tutors who would actually decide whether to use the new materials or not. Thus tutor needs were a crucial consideration and the resource pack had to be acceptable to two different target groups.

SIGNIFICANCE

In order to achieve the Association's aim, it is essential that trained and experienced people are available sometimes to initiate, always to support community self-help projects and that appropriate learning materials exist for them to draw on. Enabling groups of adults to work harmoniously together is no easy task even in relatively affluent areas where parental motivative is already high. When parents are very young and living in decaying, depressing environments or feeling alienated by their poverty or race, it takes great skill to create the kind of self-help community activity epitomised by the playgroup movement. Yet if it can be done, there are great benefits for families many of whom have already rejected whatever form of statutory provision may be available for their children.

The PPA has 13,340 member groups and 3,240 individual members spread over 44 Country Associations which are linked to 11 regional centres. The latest figures (Preschools Playgroups Association, 1984) show that 36,478 people attended recognised playgroup training in 1982–83 and 4,300 attended tutor-fieldworker training. The topic of *parental* *involvement* was invariably part of the curriculum. Approximately 55% of member groups are run by a committee of parents and whilst this is not the only indicator of parental involvement, it does suggest that there is still a long way to go before parental involvement reaches the desired level.

DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

The approach underlying the development of the resource materials was that of a learner-centred formative evaluation model and its strengths have been given elsewhere (Evans, Impey and Palmer, 1983). Briefly, these are as follows:

(1) The model is particularly useful as a predictive tool. It can provide evidence at an early stage of what is likely to work and what is not. In this way, it ensures that resources are used efficiently.

(2) The systematic nature of the process ensures that issues such as objective analysis, content structure and the sequencing of learning tasks are carefully scrutinised before the production of materials commences. This ensures that important training issues which would necessitate a major rewrite will not be raised late in the production process.

(3) The process is immediately responsive to the needs of the trainer and the trainee in that the formative evaluation component allows for desired changes to be introduced and trialled promptly.

(4) The people primarily concerned with creating the learning materials and those primarily concerned with gaining the evidence of the effectiveness of the learning materials do not become distanced from each other. By sharing similar tasks, the mutual understanding of each other's role is enhanced.

Structurally, the model moves through five phases and at all times, there is an interplay between evaluation and creation, shown diagramatically in Figure 1.

(1) Initial analysis: Here, the activities centre on analysis of needs, establishing objectives, identifying teaching points, concepts and principles.

(2) Preparation of 'form': As the form or shape of the outline evolves, it is constantly scrutinised by the evaluation team who look for deficiencies and also for possible alternative ways of treatment. Initially, this is at the atomistic level (down to small clusters of teaching points if needs be) and later as a totality.

(3) Preparation of 'drafts': This phase is critical and requires the evaluator to act as a consultant-partner in the creation of the materials. The close interaction at this stage of the development is particularly

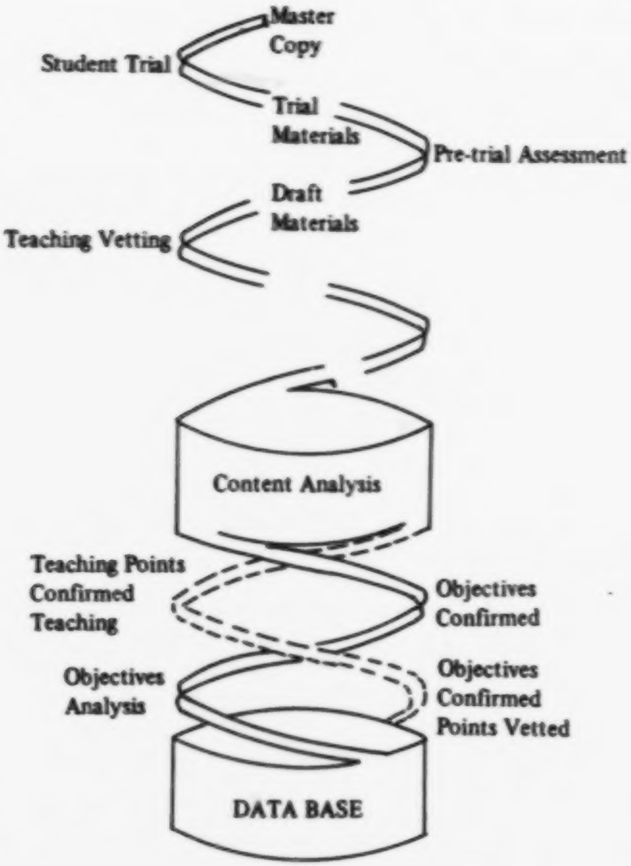
Master
Copy
Student Trial
Trial
Materials
Pre-trial Assessment
Draft
Materials
Teaching Vetting
Content Analysis
Teaching Points
Confirmed
Teaching
Objectives
Confirmed
Objectives
Analysis
Objectives
Confirmed
Points Vetted
DATA BASE

Figure 1
Five Phases of the Model

important when the materials are concerned with concept formation and our experience with the development of other similar ones has vindicated the strengths of the model. When the drafts are completed, the evaluator's task is simply that of technical vetting, that is, identifying factual errors.

(4) Preparation of 'trials': The model here dictates that the materials are considered from the target population's viewpoint. If subject matter specialists find them 'boring', 'too leading', 'too slow', too ... whatever but the students find them 'good', 'interesting' and 'correctly paced', it is the opinion of the target population which takes precedence. It is essential that the subject matter experts realise the

importance of this emphasis at this stage. The major concern is to ensure that the materials succeed in enabling the learners to gain access to the concepts, procedures, principles and factual content of the subject. Attention is focussed on whether the problems examined could have been presented more sharply and succinctly and whether the exercises and aids to thinking devised have helped the learner to appreciate the concerns of the subject matter experts. Those best able to judge, if this is so, are the learners not the subject matter experts. Several versions may have to be prepared but experience shows that this is unlikely other than with isolated sections of the materials.

(5) Preparation of master materials: This becomes a straight-forward matter in the light of the feedback obtained from the trials and the finished materials are unlikely to require subsequent revision, thus making summative evaluation (with its use of relatively large trials and consequent extensive revisions) likely to be of only limited value.

This approach was particularly applicable to the development of the PPA training materials for six reasons.

(1) The time available was limited so that a lengthy in-depth development was not possible.
(2) The amount of money available was severely limited and restricted the number of individuals engaged to a small number of key personnel.
(3) Only general statements of aim were available and detailed learning objectives were unknown.
(4) The range of subject matter for inclusion was extremely large and critical selection of issues was important if the learners were to be exposed to the concepts, principles, procedures and factual matter in an effective manner.
(5) There were two distinct target populations with different needs, namely, tutors and students. Little was known of the needs of the former in relation to resource-based learning other than that previous experiences of it would be slight.
(6) It was important to involve the PPA in all aspects of the work so that the venture represented a true collaboration.

ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The basis of the development was the fusion of the training/educational expertise and production facility with the Educational Services Unit of the University, the subject matter expertise and practical experience of volunteer training within the PPA. At the centre was a bipole made up of a small Headquarters Team and a Consultative Committee. The interactions between the various elements of the development programme are shown in Figure 2.

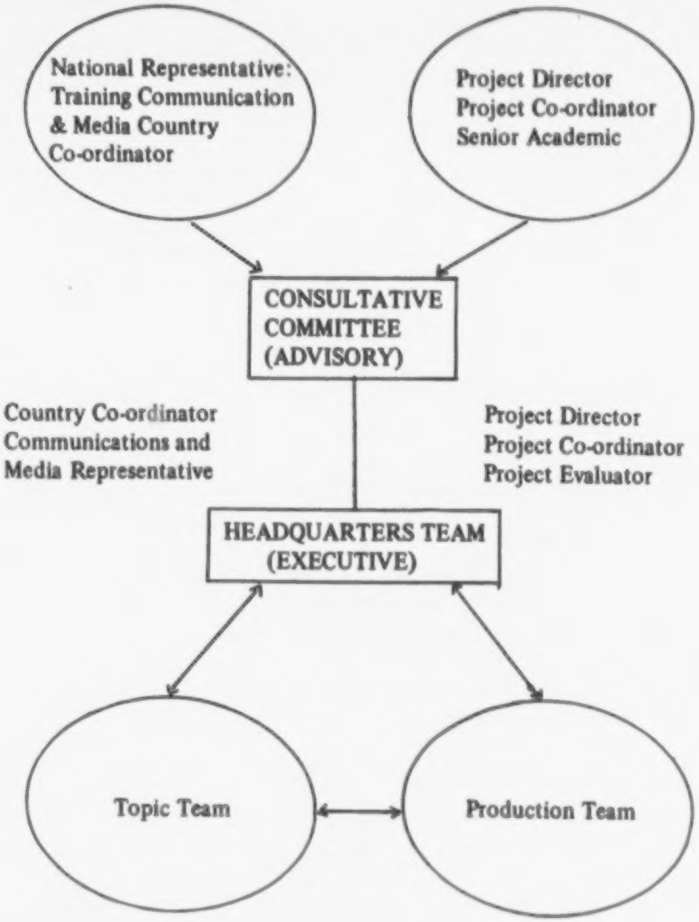
National Representative:
Training Communication
& Media Country
Co-ordinator
Project Director
Project Co-ordinator
Senior Academic
CONSULTATIVE
COMMITTEE
(ADVISORY)
Country Co-ordinator
Communications and
Media Representative
Project Director
Project Co-ordinator
Project Evaluator
HEADQUARTERS TEAM
(EXECUTIVE)
Topic Team
Production Team

Figure 2: Interaction Between Elements of the Development Programme

The Consultative Committee monitored the development and advised the Headquarters Team which, in the final analysis, was responsible for any success/failure. This Committee, through its local Country Representative who is also in the Headquarters Team, arranged the contacts with the local branches which supplied the groups and individuals whose activities, observations and experiences formed the data base of the resource packs. It also arranged the contacts necessary for evaluation input: identifying individuals willing and able to participate.

Responsibilities of the Headquarters Team relate to the following:

(1) Providing Information.
This it did through literature searches, carrying out small-scale investigations, contacting informed/experienced individuals and drawing upon its own experiences.
(2) Co-ordinating Activities.
Multi-group tasking was a potential nightmare since materials were recorded out of sequence in many different locations involving many PPA volunteers. Production Team–Topic Team overlap was a crucial interface. Since the topic areas were considered by separate teams, consistency of approach and style had to be maintained.
(3) Administration.
Financial control, preparation of reports, servicing the Consultative Committee and providing secretarial and clerical support.
(4) Stimulating Ideas.

Association members from the locale formed three Topic Teams, each having the responsibility for the following:

(1) defining topic objectives,
(2) identifying detailed subject content, structuring that which was selected and deciding on the medium of presentation, and
(3) creating the materials with the production team.

They worked primarily from their homes and preschool groups, coming to the university as and when it was necessary.

PRODUCTION OF THE MATERIALS

Fieldwork for the project was confined to the country of Avon. The main reasons for this decision were:

(1) The County offered a very wide range of environments from which to draw examples since it includes multi-racial inner city communities in Bristol, prosperous suburbs, a variety of villages and small to medium-sized towns.
(2) It was administratively simple to liaise with only one PPA County Association.
(3) Communications between the University of Bath and the county were good and travel costs were low.

A learner-centred formative evaluation model was the backbone of the project. This provided the continuous and rapid feedback needed to ensure that the design and contents of the materials met the specifications demanded of them.

PHASE 1

Three field-work teams were formed from Avon PPA volunteers. Each comprised three members; one an experienced tutor, another an experienced field-worker (area organiser or branch visitor) and the third a less experienced branch visitor. Their first task was to formulate the objectives for each of the three topics which formed the basis of the project. This was done as a series of meetings in January, 1983 in which initial drafts prepared by the Director and Co-ordinator were discussed and modified. Once the objectives had been agreed, the same process was used to identify the outline content and the medium by which its separate parts would be treated: print, video-recording or audio-recording.

A multi-media approach was adopted so that the widest possible range of stimulus material would be available to tutors and students. Video and audio tapes would be useful during a course session but audio tapes had the added advantages of being available for pre-sessional work at home. With approximately 80% of homes in the United Kingdom owning an audio cassette recorder, virtually every student would have access to one. Some form of supportive text was needed for tutors providing background notes and guidance on the use of the materials and this was extended to include quotations and extracts from relevant publications which tutors could photocopy and give to students to extend the scope of their discussions and stimulate further reading.

In the weeks immediately following the initial meetings, the field team-members sought local groups and individuals with whom the source materials for the three topics could be recorded and the Co-ordinator and Senior Technician from the Educational Services Unit made six visits with field team-members to view a variety of locations. These visits had three main purposes:

(1) To check the suitability of premises for video-recording; light and space being the major concerns.
(2) To assess the suitability of the activities presented in the preschool groups. The perfect group was not sought but the obviously atypical had to be avoided.
(3) Most importantly, to discuss with the parents involved what the project was about and what their contribution could be.

Some of this work was also undertaken by the field team-members during their day-to-day contacts. They were particularly adept at identifying individual parents who could be invited to join in interviews and group discussions.

PHASE 2

Activity during the following four months was focussed on the collection of the course materials and an exploration of the priorities and practices of tutors in planning their courses. As recording sessions were completed, the field teams began the preliminary analysis of the tapes.

Television recordings were made at five different locations and a further location was used to gather slides augmented by audio-recordings. Visits were also made to gather audio-interviews and additional audio-material was recorded at the University. In total, eleven parents were interviewed at home and a further seventeen in the studio. Five 'under fives' were also recorded to illustrate the effects of adult involvement on their use of language.

By releasing part of its tutor training programme, Somerset PPA enabled evidence of tutor usage of multi-media materials to be obtained. Six important factors were identified.

(1) Tutor receptivity and evaluative attitudes toward learning materials are critically dependent on their quality. Clarity of image and sound are important influences.
(2) Lack of familiarity with equipment can be a strong disincentive to the use of new material in a small but significant proportion of tutors.
(3) Materials, be they audio, video or print, need careful structuring and sequencing, matching their (the tutors') mode of use. Some redundancy of information is necessary to avoid too much cross referencing.
(4) Student viewing extracts should be brief, maximum eight minutes each, with a brief introduction.
(5) Video and audio-recordings should have an introductory section giving an overview of the contents and their use.
(6) Supporting text is necessary and should include background information about the support material, information on timings and detailed content of recordings, examples of their possible models of use and supplementary reading and background texts.

This information was a critical factor in the development of the project. Further evidence of the way tutors approach audio-visual materials was gleaned by monitoring some individuals for a month as they prepared for forthcoming courses.

The preliminary analysis of the televised material was carried out in the university by field team-members who completed this part of their work in July. Field team-members also undertook the preliminary analysis of the audio-recordings in their own homes.

PHASE 3

This phase of the project was in fact divided into two distinct sections. The first priority was to complete a draft to Topic 1 so that the whole design could go through a pre-trial evaluation with a target group. Two members of the field teams working with the assistance of the project Director took the responsibility of preparing the audio-tapes. These took two forms. The first was primarily designed to introduce a topic and was suitable for replaying in the homes of course participants if the course tutor decided this was appropriate. The second form was designed to be used under direct tutor control. It was made up of two parts, an introduction/guide to the tutor on its use followed by extracts for student listening. The Co-ordinator and the senior television technician prepared the video tape which had the same structure as the second audio-tape. The Co-ordinator drafted the text based on supporting information provided by field team-members and the information gained on tutor usage of multi-media resources materials. The text included details of the timings and outline content of the recordings, background details of the extracts, sample schemes outlining possible uses, selected extracts from books and journals, and suggestions for further reading. Alternative layouts, house-styles and formats were considered under the guidance of the university's graphics designer.

The pre-trial evaluation took place in early August. The major concern at this stage was to identify:

(1) Errors of fact.
(2) Better/alternative sequences of content.
(3) Deficiencies in presentation and layout.
(4) Inadequacies of image and audio quality.

No errors of fact were identified and sequencing of content was, in general, acceptable. For both the text and one of the audio-tapes, it was felt necessary to break the content down into smaller subsections. Other changes required were of a minor nature and both image and audio quality were highly praised.

In the light of these findings, the production team proceeded to revise Topic 1 and to complete Topics 2 and 3 for field trials.

PHASE 4

The field trials took place in November and early December, drawing on the assistance of Wiltshire PPA tutors and groups of students in Avon and Wiltshire. These trials were conducted under realistic conditions of use and sought to establish the extent to which the materials achieved their purpose for the two target population sub-groups.

The materials were well received by both tutors and students. The latter found the contents very relevant and the speakers and situations they saw and heard easy to identify with. Again, only minor amendments were required.

A small but significant proportion of tutors found difficulties in setting up the video replay systems. Their difficulties were overcome by incorporating in the booklet a flow diagram illustrating how to connect and tune a recorder and television set.

In this, the final phase of the project, the materials were revised in the light of the field trials and the master recordings and artwork prepared. These were formally handed to the Association on 1 February, 1984.

OBSERVATION

Two pertinent issues permeated this project. Could a voluntary organisation and a university successfully collaborate in the development of training materials and was the model (learner-centred formative evaluation) applicable?

The short answer to the first question is, 'Yes!'. However, a number of problems did arise and individuals attempting to carry out similar development would be advised to take note of them.

(1) Communication between the people involved is a very familiar problem in any decentralised working structure. It is particularly important when some of those people are unpaid. They have willingly given their time and have a commitment to the work. However, that commitment must be seen to have been worthwhile and valued. How it relates to the overall project needs to be carefully explained and regular reports on the project's progress are essential.

(2) When some individuals are being paid a salary while others receive only expenses, it is important that everyone understands who is salaried and why that salary is being paid. If this is not done, misunderstanding can arise and resentments build up.

(3) Flexibility of time/appointments is crucial. Volunteers often operate outside normal working hours and family priorities are paramount. Hence, appointments may have to be cancelled at the last minute if illness occurs or father needs the family's transport. This can produce problems with studio time unless some allowance is made at the planning stage.

(4) The shared meeting ground of the academic world and the voluntary organisation is a sensitive territory. Each needs the other but either can be fully aware of the pressures and priorities under which the other operates. Both may be totally committed but with very different motives. An awareness of this is essential.

(5) Heed the advice of the Consultancy Committee in the selection of volunteers to help in the work. Every organisation has its 'parish pump politics' and it is perilous to ignore this aspect. Nevertheless reserve the veto on who will enter the teams (workforce) for even the most dedicated volunteers do not necessarily have the skills required.

(6) Be prepared to involve the volunteers in tasks that are outside their formal remit. For example, if an individual has arranged for colleagues to be interviewed in the television studio, have that individual in the control room at the time of the recording.

What has been written in the body of this paper makes it clear that the learner-centred formative evaluation model underlying the project provided an excellent framework for the development of the materials. At each stage, the evaluation correctly identified problem areas and the success of the model can be recognised in the small number of changes demanded at the field trial stage.

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Parent's Alternative: a Community-Based Approach to Early Childhood Care in the Philippines

Elizabeth Protacio-Marcelino

GENERAL FRAMEWORK

Childcare in the Philippines has traditionally been the primary concern of individual families or more particularly that of the parents. In the great majority of cases in typical Filipino families, the husband/father is obliged to earn a living and support his family and this gives him the position of being the symbolic head and disciplinarian within the family. However, fathers are also concerned with and involved in providing guidance and emotional support to the children even as they consider the responsibility of assuring the economic base of their families their primary role. On the other hand, the wife takes charge of the household chores, budgeting, and child caring, rearing and character formation. Also, wives do their share in providing additional income for their families. Taken as a whole, parents are expected to take full responsibility for solving the problems associated with the intellectual, social, emotional and physical development of their children.

However, the traditional notion of childcare being a primarily family concern has been changing for the past few years. An increasing number of the Filipinos are beginning to realise that many of the childcare problems experienced by individual families are the result and a reflection of the deeper social ills affecting Philippine society. The inattention and neglect of the state's responsibility in childcare is in itself a socio-political issue.

The grave socio-economic-political crisis spawned by the martial law government in the Philippines over the last decade has plunged countless families into severe deprivations and difficulties that have wreaked havoc on the physical and mental well-being of the children, not to mention that of their parents. A World Bank study by Parvez Hasan, East Asian chief economist, showed the 'growing uneven income situation in the Philippines'. In 1975, the study found that 40% of the total Philippine population 'lived in absolute poverty'. This, of course, entail problems for the children such as malnutrition, lower resistance to diseases, limited funds for medicines/hospitalisation, less chances of acquiring a formal education and others. The results of the Philippine government's Operation *Timbang* (Weighing) as of December 1978, covering 5,115,753 children, showed that 78.6% suffer from malnutrition and only 21.4% were normal. In terms of mortality, 74 out of 1,000 Filipino children die before their first birthday. As for education, for every 100 who entered Grade I in school year 1965–66, only 62 graduated from Grade VI in 1971 and only 26 finished fourth year high school in 1975.

Inadequate income, unemployment, underemployment, incapacity to work among parents, broken homes or death of parents or guardians compel the youth under 15 years old to work even though elementary education is free. The money for school expenses drain out the family purse for basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter. Thus, 18 out of every 1,000 Filipinos are working youth (under 15 years of age), including some who work even as early as seven years old—the age for admission to the first grade.

It is reasonable to assume that all of the above statistics have risen in the last few years by virtue of the continuous drop in the real income, the unabated rise in prices of goods and services, the expanding number of unemployed and underemployed, and other socio-economic problems. Consequently, an increasing number of parents preoccupied with economic concerns are less able to attend to the emotional, intellectual, material and physical needs of their children. In addition, the political and labour policies of the Philippine government have considerably reduced the scope of options for individual and collective actions of the working population in exercising and promoting effectively their political and economic rights necessary for the upliftment of their families' impoverished conditions.

In other words, parents are hindered by the socio-economic-political crisis from fully attending to the emotional, intellectual, physical and material needs of their children. Complicating this is the negative effect on the children's perception of their fellowmen and society because of the rise in social problems such as crimes, prostitution, drug abuse and others brought about by poverty.

This situation brings us to the aspect of the state's responsibility in childcare. While the individual families still assume the primary responsibility in the day-to-day caring for the rearing of children, the state has an obligation too in providing support services that augment and enhance the efforts of the parents. For instance, the corrosive effects of inflation, low wages and high taxes on family real incomes could be offset by the relative accessibility of social services such as health care, day-care centres, and the like. This is especially true in times of grave societal crises such as the one experienced by the Filipino people at present.

However, such state-initiated childcare delivery systems are, to say the least, pitifully lacking. Long-range programmes for the care and education of preschool children are practically non-existent. If programmes do exist, they are sporadic rather than sustained and systematic, expensive, urban-centred and/or institution based. For instance, the government has erected a multi-million dollar modern children's hospital through loans from the International Monetary Fund which caters only to a limited number of children. Even the education of childcare specialists are geared to the needs and experiences of developed countries.

The private sector and the various churches in the Philippines have been more active in this regard. Several day-care centres, kindergartens and other specialised schools/institutions have been set up by groups or individuals interested in childcare. However, these are mostly found in the big urban centres and cater to the middle and upper classes in view of the prohibitive costs they entail. The churches or church-related institutions on the other hand have also set up several centres for children, particularly those coming from poor families. However, these are mainly focused on orphans and handicapped children and thus reach only a small percentage of children.

In effect, a majority of the marginalised Filipino families still have very limited alternatives in ensuring proper care, rearing and education for the children. Usually, they depend on the support of their extended families, particularly in terms of caring for the children when the parents are out making a living. From time to time, some families also get financial and/or material support from relatives who are better-off economically. If the parents are literate and have enough time and energy, they are primarily the ones who initiate the children to letters and numbers.

Thus, there are two ways in which the prevailing social, economic and political inequities in Philippine society today affect childcare. First, they have caused the deprivations and difficulties suffered by the families which, in turn, reduced the capability of parents to attend fully to the physical, emotional, intellectual and material needs of the children. Second, the lack of resources and opportunities entailed by the mis-priorities of the state in the organisation and distribution of economic, political and social services have reduced the families' scope of chances to cope effectively with those deprivations and difficulties and its consequent effect on the children. To these may be added certain traditional/cultural norms and beliefs regarding childcare, rearing and education that stunts the development of the child such as the notion that only classroom teaching is 'education'.

There is therefore an intrinsic relationship between childcare problems and the success or failure of coping actions of the families on the one hand and the families' social existence which in turn is linked to the economic and political structure of Philippine society on the other hand. Thus, the traditionally individual family concern with respect to childcare assumes a social dimension because of its roots in economic, political, social and political issues.

Consequently, attempts at resolving the problem must also take into account this social context. This means that solutions must extend beyond the framework that focuses only on the specific question of improving childcare by providing and teaching parents with the necessary tools and skills in proper childcare or by instituting welfare programmes on particular aspects of childcare, rearing and education. For instance, coping with malnutrition cannot be tackled simply by teaching the parents and the children about proper nutrition since they do not have enough money to acquire nutritious food. Efforts towards increased food production or higher wages must complement nutrition programmes. Likewise, specialised programmes for child education would be hampered unless related problems such as the lack of resources of participating families to support the programme would also be looked into. On the other hand, welfare programmes, especially of the dole-out type, reach only a small number of people, create dependence on such programmes and even unwittingly create needs that could not possibly be met.

It might be argued that attempts at solving the structural/societal problems affecting childcare and for that matter other familial concerns is a long-term proposition whereas problems regarding childcare needs immediate attention. In this regard, it may be suggested that coping actions should be conceptualised on the basis of a differential relatonship between specific types of problems and specific types of resolutions.

To confine coping actions, however, to a fragmentary approach is to lose the intrinsically sociological aspect or, more precisely, the sociological root of the problems relating to childcare. Notwithstanding the importance and immediate necessity for practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable programmes for childcare, it must also be recognised that these programmes would be greatly hampered if the structural causes are not resolved fully or at least in part.

In other words, childcare delivery programmes must adopt a holistic and interdisciplinary approach. This means that for a childcare programme to be truly effective in terms of full human development, it must not only focus on the formal aspects of childcare, rearing and education but also in the process, be able to relate with or even help in solving other problems affecting the families like unemployment, poverty and low wages. Moreover, families involved in such a programme must be helped in linking their problems whether in childcare or in other areas to structural causes. In so doing, a holistic and interdisciplinary childcare programme helps in the physical and mental development of the child as well as in promoting or facilitating the restructuring of the social order that impinge upon the family's chances to cope with those deprivations and difficulties which undermine the development of the children and the whole family. Potentially, this merges into political action.

Two points need to be stressed along this line. First, the solutions to the families' problems in childcare assume a more than individual character precisely because of the social dimension of their problems. The active participation of the people is therefore crucial and childcare programmes must encourage their participation not only in the solution of childcare problems but also in decision making involving other critical issues which are of social, economic and political significance. In this respect, the community is the best setting for a holistic and interdisciplinary programme for childcare.

Efforts in mobilising the people must bear fruit in the establishment of community organisations which are the primary venues of the people for airing their problems and working out possible solutions collectively. In the process, they are not only able to solve the short-term problems relating to childcare but also able to recognise the potential power of an organised community. Moreover, under these circumstances, problems related to the operation of a childcare delivery programme could be more easily resolved through the community's material and manpower resources.

Second, resolving the problem of childcare in the context of a holistic and interdisciplinary approach leads to active changes (or attempts at such changes) in both childcare delivery systems and in the environment. This presupposes that the people involved in the programme conceive their family's world in an ideal shape into which they would like to transform it through their action. Action in this sense is social practice because it entails the exertion of physical and mental energy with the purpose of shaping their environment so that it fits their projected interpretation. On the other hand, their practice enriches and clears up further their conception of their projected family's world.

As a result of this intrinsic relationship between the idea/planning and the action/practice, a necessary aspect of a community-based childcare programme is the conscientisation of the community members in order to consolidate their various views and notions about childcare and its relation with social structures, and raise these views to a higher level of understanding and awareness. It is on the basis of a sufficiently clear understanding and awareness that short and long-term goals and programmes of action can be formulated within the context of the circumstances and opportunities in the community that shall guide the people's practice in improving childcare delivery systems and helping in promoting or facilitating the restructuring of the social order.

A holistic and interdisciplinary community-based childcare programme may therefore be conceptualised as a conscious and collective endeavor insofar as it entails the conscientisation and organisation of the people in a community in order that they solve their problems in childcare and its structural causes in the spirit of self-reliance and self-determination. The community-based programme is essentially different from institution-based/specialised programmes in that the latter approaches childcare in the formal sense while the former might be visualised as substantial in that it also focuses on the contents of the individual's and community's privations and the actual resources and means which they command to make their strategies work.

Parent's Alternative (PA) is an attempt to see childcare in this framework. Though it was only recently that the staff of PA started shifting their attention to the community-based approach, it has had rich experiences where lessons could be drawn that further enhances the concept of a community-based childcare delivery system so badly needed in the Philippines and possibly in other Third World countries.

PARENT'S ALTERNATIVE EXPERIENCE

Beginnings

Begun in the latter half of 1980, PA was originally an attempt by a group of concerned mothers to respond to the immediate and pressing needs of children of political detainees. Separated from one or both parents, these children—especially those of preschool age—found themselves sadly lacking in parental care and attention. The initiative to set up a child-care centre came from the mothers of these children who were once political detainees themselves or whose husbands have or are still detained. They felt that individually they could not shoulder the huge task of being both father and mother to their children. However, if they pulled their time, efforts and resources together, they could effectively provide a more healthy and stimulating atmosphere for the growth and development of their children. Given the very difficult and stressful circumstances the children and their families were in, the help of other similarly situated mothers and various sympathetic groups were sought. After a series of formal and informal gatherings centering on the discussion of proper childcare and early childhood education, these mothers decided to set up initially a small day-care centre in a middle income community.

At the start, it had merely a handful of children. They were mostly the children of parent volunteers who took turns in managing the day-to-day operations of the centre. This centre-based day-care tried to resemble closely the home environment and not be merely a baby-sitting centre for custodial care. The day-care had three main features. First, it served as the extension of the family by closely approximating and supplementing parent's care. It also aimed to impart the parent's views on national freedom, justice and democracy in order to help the children make sense out of the detention of their parents. Second, it was an aid, though still inadequate, to the children's physical, emotional, intellectual and social development. This was done by providing meaningful social experiences, training in certain basic skills and creating various opportunities for learning. Finally, the day-care centre served as a positive intervention in the specific crisis situations experienced by the children as a result of or related to the indefinite detention of their parents.

Soon enough, the day-care centre began to attract other parents and thus was forced to accept the children of friends of the original volunteer families. Eventually, there arose a need to expand the programme and operations to include a children's home where parents may leave their children for longer periods of time in order that they may attend to very important family matters. However, only those children really needing emergency care were accommodated. Adapating the Filipino extended family care system, it tried to provide the children with the warmth and security of the home.

On the other hand, the programme for the day-care centre was broadened to include an outline for general childcare with special emphasis on early childhood education. The curriculum plan included children activities for the child's entire day at the centre such as play, meals, naps and conversations – all within a certain degree of freedom balanced with systematic control. It was thought that such a setting would encourage the development of the child as a whole person.

At the peak of its operation in 1982, it had a little more than 50 children under its care. It was no longer manageable at this point to operate on a voluntary basis and rely on benefactors and friends for its financial support. There was a need for more competent professionals in childcare who were willing to work on a full-time basis. Thus from a volunteer staff of three persons in the beginning, the programme had to provide for the hiring of additional personnel to include child experts, consultants, teachers, health workers, parent's aides and clerical staff. Also in place of the old centre, a two-door apartment was rented to serve conveniently the expanded purposes of the programme.

On the whole, the programme was able to live up to expectations and meet the immediate and pressing needs of the children of political detainees. The centre was a welcome respite for the mothers who had to think of the more important tasks of earning a living and following up matters pertinent to the release of the husband/father. It was also a better option to an empty home, the streets or even the detention centre itself where the children were sometimes forced to stay for lack of a better place. For the parents who badly needed the benefits of preschool education but could not afford its costs, the day-care centre offered relief from their heavy burdens. Very little expense was involved in its operation at the start since most of its resources came from benefactors and friends.

However, with the expanded concept of the centre came new problems and challenges. Children of political detainees were no longer the majority in the group being serviced by the day-care as some of the parents have been released while other children eventually had to go to formal schools when they reached school-age. It was at this point that the old concept of the day-care and children's home had to be reviewed and evaluated. First, the original idea of a core of volunteers to see through the programme's implementation was no longer feasible. Since the programme was slowly becoming institutionalised, greater demands were expected from the staff in terms of professionalisation of skills and management abilities. Second, the programme was becoming just like most of the institution-based day-care centres which catered mainly to middle-class families to the neglect of the poorer sectors of society and the community. Even in the middle-class community where it was located, its services were not necessary since there were other similar competing centres. None of the children in the programme lived in the above-mentioned community. In effect, it was also thus conveniently detached from community events. Finally, it was becoming very expensive to maintain the expanded centre. There were not just enough benefactors willing to sponsor the new children who came for its services while overhead expenses such as rental of the place, salaries to personnel, classroom materials and equipment have risen considerably.

It was at this point that the volunteer parents felt the original idea of the day-care centre had outlived its purpose. After a thorough evaluation of the old programme, the group decided to phase out some of its services and reorient and redirect its basic thrusts to serve the broader community, particularly those from the poor, deprived and oppressed sectors of society on a long-range basis.

Present Thrust

Even at its initial organisation, PA has already included a community outreach programme as part of its long-range objectives of popularising its concept of an alternative child-care system by reaching the wide number of under-priviledged families in depressed communities. In line with this, summer vacation programmes were attempted in an urban poor community near the day-care centre which included workshops and consultations with mothers on proper childcare and encouraging community leaders to set up a childcare centre in their area. However, because the community outreach programme is just an extension service, not much was realised in terms of the setting-up of a people initiated child care-centre. At the most, it provided a glimpse of what could be encountered in the event that more emphasis would be placed in the community outreach programme of PA.

With the phasing out of the old concept of an institution-based day-care centre and the affirmation of the necessity to serve the broader community, the community outreach programme became the principal thrust of PA. With this, the volunteers and the staff started to review its concept of a day-care by focussing on the following considerations as prerequisites to a successful community outreach programme:

(1) The most needy of a childcare programme are the marginalised sectors of society who cannot afford the expensive institution-based childcare centres. They are those hardest hit by the socio-economic crisis plaguing Philippine society and yet are also the ones who lack or cannot avail themselves of quality services for the care of their children. The programme must therefore be geared to the poor, deprived and oppressed sectors of society.

(2) If a childcare programme is to be implemented among the marginalised sectors, it must take into consideration the economic constraints of would-be participants which may tend to dissuade active participation in such a programme. On the other hand, it must also be recognised that the marginalised sectors are also the most receptive of a programme that would lighten their heavy loads and thus give them the opportunity to concentrate better on their key problems in hand. In addition, such a programme would invariably solicit material and moral support from sympathising individuals and groups in or out of the country. A programme must therefore inculcate upon the target participants its importance while making sure that it does not put excessive strain on the already strict budgets of marginalised families. While donations from sympathising individuals and groups could be expected, it would be reasonable to assume that this would not suffice to sustain all the expenses of a fully-functioning childcare programme.

(3) Due to economic constraints, the programme must be brought closer to the target participants instead of the previous set-up of PA wherein clients/participants lived in areas far from the day-care centre. The most suitable location would therefore be within the community and/or within a community adjacent to the workplaces of the target participants.

(4) In order to save on overhead/operational outlays, the programme must maximise the local manpower and material resources that could serve the different aspects of the operation of the programme. This would not only reduce the financial outlays but also develop among the people the spirit of creativity and self reliance in matters that concern their whole community.

(5) A crucial consideration in the sustained operation of such a programme is the expected lack of competent teachers who would be willing to work full-time with minimum or no financial renumeration. This would be more highly felt when the programme is already fully implemented or has extended to other communities/areas of the country. It is to be expected that a number of volunteer professionals would be more than willing to lend their expertise to the

programme. Again, it would be reasonable to assume that such help would only be on a consultative or part-time basis. Thus there would still be the lack of full-time professional teachers/caretakers for the programme. The only alternative would be to train local people who are willing to be trained and have the necessary qualifications as well as sufficient free time.

(6) Though the PA curriculum for child education may still be used as the general guide, its specific contents and thrusts must be reformulated in order that it would be more suitable and responsive to the needs and particularities of the community and its people. It must be recognised that there are so many variable factors operating in a community that are radically different from the highly controlled/managed situations in the previous day-care centre. A key step towards this is a thorough and in-depth social investigation of each target community, its people and the children.

(7) Aside from the curriculum, programmes must also exercise enough flexibility in terms of operations. The management of the programme has to take into consideration the possible fluctuations in the participation of the families and children as a result of various day-to-day problems affecting them. Also to be taken into account is the high rate of population flow/transfer common in urban poor communities that affect the continuity of certain aspects of the programme.

(8) Another aspect that must be taken into consideration is the possible resistance to new concepts and methods stemming from a lack of understanding and awareness of the goals and objectives of the programme. A necessary prerequisite therefore is the conscientisation of the people and their involvement from the stage of planning through the implementation stage of the programme.

(9) The success of the programme rests primarily on the organisation of the people. Through the organisation, the initiatives and creativity of the people can be harnessed to its fullest.

All of the cited considerations and prerequisites point to the concept of a community-based childcare delivery system that could provide essential childcare based on practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable methods by relying on the full participation of individuals and families in the community. The key point is to conscienticise and organise the members of the community in the shortest possible time and carry out the various components of the programme step by step in the spirit of self-reliance and self-determination. In other words, the programme is primarily a community project with the necessary help coming from PA.

As a preliminary step, the staff of PA must themselves have a sufficiently deep understanding of the various components of the programme as well as the principles and methods of conscientisation, organisation and mobilisation of the people. They must be well acquainted with the specific childcare problems in the community and their structural causes, specific characteristics of the community and actual resources which they can tap to make their strategies work, and other necessary data and information that can give clear substance to the ideas and concepts they impart to the members of the community. So long as the programme implementors grasp the people's interests, needs and demands through social investigation and close contact with them, they can encourage and guide the members of the community to set their programme into motion.

Programme Implementation: Objectives and Components

In line with the above-mentioned concept of a community-based approach to childcare, PA has defined the following objectives:

(1) assist specific communities in setting-up people-initiated childcare centres with specific emphasis on early childhood education by linking with community mass organisations and by conducting conscientisation drives among the people in the community;
(2) train and develop community-based childcare workers;
(3) encourage and guide the people in the maximum utilisation of existing community resources;
(4) create an awareness of the economic, social, political and cultural structures that hinder human development in general and childcare in particular;
(5) encourage popular participation in decision-making processes whether in childcare or in other issues affecting the community and the people; and
(6) conduct researches and documentations with the end in view of contributing to the development of indigenous concepts and methods on childcare, rearing and education.

These objectives were pursued in two urban poor communities in metropolitan Manila. Implementaton went through a process that had the following components:

Conscienticising Component

As previously pointed out, the key to success and quality of the programme is the active involvement of the members of the community in general and parents in particular. However, not much can be accomplished in mobilising the people unless they understand the importance and direction of the programme itself. Conscientisation therefore is as much a component as the conventional features of a childcare programme. It may be visualised as laying the foundation for the all round development of the programme by way of giving an advance notice and direction to the target participants.

The specific function of the conscientisation drive is to unite the people's views on the various aspects of childcare and on how to improve it within the context of the objective conditions obtaining within and outside the community. Certainly, differences in perception and opinion exist among the people and unless they unite on the general and specific analysis of their situation and direction of action, the programme cannot possibly succeed, much less take off the ground. Knowledge derived from the different forms of conscientisation serves as a guide to the people on how to set-up and sustain the childcare programme of the community.

The particular goals of the conscientisation drive were:

(1) create an awareness in people on the how's and why's of the many issues affecting childcare in order that they can contextualise their individual problems to structural causes;

(2) arm the people, particularly the parents, with scientific and educational principles to provide them knowledge that would guide policy and decision making at all levels and stages of the programme; and

(3) help the people assess and sum up their experiences as well as the realities of their community in order that they can direct their childcare programme according to their needs and aspirations.

The sweeping forms of conscientisation employed were the holding of extensive seminars and workshops on such topics as child development, responsible parenthood, nutrition and health, consumer education, childcare in the Philippines, socio-economic-political situation in the Philippines, specific problems on childcare in the community, principles of a community-based childcare delivery system, different aspects of a childcare programme, principles of organisational work and others. To follow up the results of these seminars/workshops, consultations with individuals or groups of families were undertaken.

The conscientisation drive was directed to as many people that can be involved in the community. This seeks to break the myth and fallacy that only women are suited and/or relegated to the task of childcare. It needs to be stressed that childcare is a social concern and thus necessitates a collective endeavor of the whole community.

Conscientisation is a continuing process. As such, the seminars, workshops and consultations were held continuously and not only at the start of programme implementation. The only difference was that the follow-up activities consisted primarily of summing-up of the people's experiences and perceptions generated from the implementation of the programme.

Organising Component

To consolidate the gains of the conscientisation drive, a step-by-step process of organising the people of the community around the programme thrust was implemented. This led to the formation of a people's organisation where there was none, the transformation of an already existing one into an organisation geared towards the programme or the putting up of a community organisation to replace a non-active one.

The setting up of a community organisation is the material expression of the people's unity achieved through the conscientisation drive. It is the expression of the people's willingness and determination to put into practice what they have learned and internalised in the different symposiums, workshops and consultations. Organisations bridge the gap between ideas and practice.

Organisational work within the communities gave way to the emergence of community leaders and other qualified people who eventually took over and manned the different components of the childcare programme. The paucity of professional personnel who will manage and operate the various activities of the programme was resolved since there were always enough qualified people arising from the ranks of the organisation to fill up the personnel needs of the programme. Thus, the programme may be likened to a skeleton taking full flesh.

However, the organisations were not to be tied up solely to the programme. They were also venues through which the people aired their other problems and worked out possible solutions. In fact, some of these problems were more critical and significant to the community. They included social, economic and political issues that played the decisive and leading roles in the resolution of their other problems including those related to childcare.

Another significance of organisational work was its facilitation of the preliminary as well as the in-depth social investigation of the community. General and specific data needed to start and firm up the programme and its components were supplied by the members of the organisation (or its pre-organisational forms) who had reliable and knowledgeable information about the community and its people.

The step-by-step organising process was subdivided into three general stages. The first stage involved the contacting of community members who expressed interest about the programme and willingness to help to set it up in the community. Preliminary conscientisation and social investigation was started at this point. With the help of the initial contacts, more members of the community were also encouraged to attend the conscientisation forums. As more members of the community joined the organised seminars/workshops, the condition was paved for the second stage which involved the setting up of a committee composed of the more active participants in the conscientisation drive who functioned as a preparatory body to the full organisation. They drew up the plans for the setting up and activation of the organisation including the specific committees and their functions. Following this, general meetings were called to discuss and ratify the plans which eventually led to the full organisation of the community association. This was the third and last stage. It must be noted though that even at the second and third stages, social investigation about the community was continued.

Upon the establishment of the organisation, implementation of the various components of the childcare programme made great strides. Seminars and workshops became more widespread and vigorous. Qualified community members were trained for the childcare aspects of the programme. A suitable child education curricula, based on social investigation, was firmed up. Community resources that could be used for the technical aspects of the programme operation were identified.

Training Component

The programme's backbone are the childcare workers composed primarily of the teachers and childcare workers. They will be the ones responsible for the implementation and management of the childcare related activities of the programme. Since a majority of the childcare workers came from the community and were not professional teachers/child specialists, an appropriate and practical training programme was implemented.

In general, the content of the training curriculum included the following:

(1) National and Local Situation.
    Includes the different aspects of the political, economic, social and cultural situation at the national and local levels.
(2) Principles Behind the Community-Based Day-Care Centre.
    Functions of a Community-Based Day-Care Centre.
    Advantages/Disadvantages of Day-Care Centres.
    Operating a Community-Based Day-Care Centre.
(3) Principles Behind Early Childhood Education.
    Philosophy of Child Education.
    Psychological Theories on Early Childhood Education.
    Curriculum Formulation/Building.
(4) Instructional Principles and Teaching Strategies.
(5) Specific Curriculum Content Used in Programme.
(6) Nutrition/Good Health.
(7) Environmental Sanitation.
(8) Maternal and Childcare.
(9) Reporting and Record Keeping.
(10) Exchange of Experiences Between Trainees of Two Pilot Areas.

Training was functional rather than simply theoretical and academic. The trainees were given before the start of the Day-Care Centre a general overview of the theoretical principles contained in the curricula. They then started to teach the children under the close supervision and guidance of PA trainers. The experiences they gathered from actual practice were used as the focus of subsequent training sessions. In other words, a major part of their training was done while the Day-Care Centre was already in operation. In this way, their theoretical knowledge was enriched on the basis of their practical experience.

In line with this method of training, organisation of the training schedule was in the form of a series of intermittent sessions organised at short intervals. Furthermore, the evaluation of the trainees was based on their actual performance in the day-care centre. It was projected that the intensive part of the training programme would last for at least six months. After this, regular assessment/summing up meetings were the primary venues through which the trainees could further sharpen their theoretical and practical knowledge.

Day-care Centre/Children's House

The heart of the programme were the day-care centres/children's houses which catered primarily to the preschool children in the communities. One centre was set up in each community.

The programme used the developmental-interactionist approach to a day-care instead of the mere custodial/baby-sitting arrangement. Because of the school-like setting in the centre, a broad range of developmental activities with child's play as the medium was designed and implemented to enhance the integrated physical, emotional, social and intellectual development of the children.

Two sets of curriculum/programme based on the ages of the children were used in the day-care centres. For young children aged two to three, emphasis was placed on the following:

(1) Physical and Intellectual Skills, including
    recognising names and describing simple objects, pictures, events and experiences;
    developing understanding and use of vocabulary;
    developing fine motor control and eye-hand co-ordination in manipulating small tools and objects;
    increasing sensitivity to surfaces, textures, smells, sights and sounds; and
    learning to know what to do in a defined play area.

(2) Sense of self or identity, including
    learning to feed, dress, undress, wash and toilet oneself;
    learning to understand and describe – in words, pictures and gestures – one's own body image in climbing, jumping, running and standing; and
    learning to recognise and express one's own feelings.

(3) Relating to Other Children, including
    making the gradual change from solitary to co-operative play;
    learning to share materials with others; and
    developing the ability to defend one's right.

The curriculum for the four to six age grouping was more extensive and intensive.

(1) Intellectual Skills, including
    learning the steps or process in the use of the scientific method;
    learning to recognise similarities and group objects that are alike in some way;
    learning to form concepts;
    learning to differentiate between living and non-living things;
    strengthening vocabulary; and
    developing a longer attention span and the ability to extend projects
    over more than one work session.

(2) Relating to Other Children and to a Group, including
    learning to share ideas/materials with others;
    learning to take turns with tools and materials;
    learning to live comfortably with the rules established for and by the group; and
    learning to be a contributing member of the group.

(3) Sensory-Perceptual Skills, including
    matching, sorting and naming different colours/shapes;
    sequencing objects by size;
    identifying positions of objects; and
    classifying objects by general categories;

(4) Other Intellectual and Language Skills, including
    formation of concepts on people to people relationships and knowing what the different roles or occupations people play in society; and
    participating in creative/cultural activities such as poetry reading, relating stories, art, movement and music and developing listening skills in the process.

(5) Interpersonal Skills, including
    developing co-operation with others by following rules;
    helping to establish rules and by playing co-operatively;
    sharing and taking turns;
    engaging in discussion and activity that involves adult and other children; and
    verbalising feelings related to events that arise in everyday life.

(6) Intrapersonal Skills, including
    caring for own physical needs;
    assuming independent responsibilities for completing tasks;
    learning about one's life/family background and learn to respect differences between children; and
    learning to take care of one's own belongings.

(7) Relating to Adults

learning to view adults as resources for one's emotional, physical and intellectual needs; and

learning to see adults as individuals with interests, feelings, problems and needs.

An important aspect of the curriculum is the use of play as a medium since it is recognised as the most natural setting for children's learning. It is likewise the medium used by children to translate experience into something internally meaningful to him/her. In general, children at play are able to explore and practise new roles and skills, learn about new materials, acquire social abilities, learn to cope with trying experiences, develop the senses, clarify concepts and provide for emotional relief and expression while creating a period of clearly satisfying delight for themselves.

The other aspects of the day-care including the organisation of time, the plan for work areas or interest centres and programme equipments depended on the actual resources and conditions obtaining in the community.

Enhanced Responsible Parenthood Education

Parents are and still remain the principal influence on the development of their children. In line with this, a day-care should supplement and not supplant the children's own family. However, if the day-care and the parents do not share a common understanding of the children and do not agree on the direction for the children's learning and development, a day-care may subject the children to a second, conflicting set of rules, values and expectations.

There was therefore a necessity for the parents to be aware of and involved in the operations and direction of the day-care centre. Actually, this is an extension of the conscientisation drive of the programme. This component hoped to elicit from the parents a deeper involvement in the actual operations and activities of the centre in order that the development of the child could be ensured and sustained both at the centre and at their homes.

In addition, parents also sought opportunities for their own growth. The day-care centre became a focal point for learning of all who were involved – children, parents and staff. Thus, a systematic and formal way of transfering knowledge to the parents was also necessary.

In relative to these points, the following methods were employed to involve and educate the parents:

(1) membership in decision-making by ensuring that a majority of the members of the executive board of the programme/day-care are parents;

(2) organisation of a Parents' Council as a venue for airing of the general interest and concern of all parents;

(3) regular holding of meetings where parents can get together and share problems and solutions as well as planning of activities;
(4) consultation sessions between parents and day-care staff;
(5) regular holding of parents-staff-teachers conferences;
(6) inviting parents to observe or to participate in day-care activities/ projects;
(7) mobilising parents in culminating activities of children and social events; and
(8) holding of regular seminars/workshops for parents.

Child-care Related Programmes

To ensure the all round care for the children, the day-care staff co-ordinated with various government, private and church offices and institutions to provide nutrition, health and medical services to meet the children's health and nutritional needs. Efforts were made, through the community organisation, to initiate community-wide projects relating to environmental sanitation and economic/productive activities and others. In some of these projects, the children under the day-care, especially those belonging to the older age group, were mobilised to join the other members of the community in implementing the projects.

Research, Documentation and Publication

An important component in the development of the community-based childcare programme is the need to conduct researches on actual case studies of educational concepts and child-rearing practices in the Filipino setting. This is of great value in the development of indigenous scientific concepts and methods, and childcare, rearing and education which unfortunately is lacking in the Philippines today.

The education of Filipino child specialists today is mainly Western oriented. Most of the basic textbooks and materials used in schools deal with Western concepts, theories and methods based on studies and experiments in a Western setting. Since the basic textbooks and references are Western oriented, the curriculum cannot be otherwise. This has resulted in graduates who are dependent on Western theories and methods in the belief that these are universal and value-free. It is therefore inevitable that when they pursue their careers in or out of the academe and apply what they have learned, they are guided by the Western orientation which sometimes are not appropriate or applicable to the Filipino setting. Thus, a vicious circle is formed.

Consequently, the discipline of child psychology and its ramifications in childcare, rearing and education has tended to become elitist and sometimes irrelevant. It could not fully comprehend and apprehend the specific nuances and realities of Filipino life and culture in general and Filipino children in particular. Thus, it cannot truly respond to the needs and aspirations of Filipinos especially those coming from the poor, deprived and oppressed sectors of Philippine society.

It could not be denied that the Philippines is rich in its own national history, culture and traditions which is characteristically Filipino and which may not agree with Western theories and methods. It should be constantly borne in mind that Western concepts, values and methods which are operational within the context of Western culture do not necessarily have the same value and applicability to the Philippines or for that matter to Asian realities. In fact, it may not be surprising that some parts of the components of this programme would have to be radically adjusted or changed in as much as the concepts used in some of the components were drawn from progressive but still Western theories.

It must be stressed though that this does not mean a complete negation of Western theories and methods. As a matter of fact, at this given stage of PA's community-based programme, Western theories have played a crucial role in enhancing the concepts and methods used in the different components of the programme in as much as these theories and methods have been tested in practice in their countries of origin. Notwithstanding their limited applicability in the Philippine setting, the usefulness and importance of Western theories and methods are not denied, only the priority that is accorded it over the development of indigenous concepts, theories and methods.

In line with this, PA is continuously documenting the experiences of this community-based childcare programme as well as those of similar programmes. These findings are published in a newsletter that is regularly distributed to interested individuals and institutions with the hope that these data are used to make theoretical elucidations and practical suggestions. A long-range project of PA in this regard is to form a distinct research and documentation staff that shall undertake more vigorously research and analysis of practical experiences of innovative programmes on childcare.

Problems Encountered

Given that the programme is still on-going and full implementation has yet to be realised, an in-depth evaluation of strengths and weaknesses of the programme cannot be made at present. However, a preliminary assessment is given to point out the more glaring problems encountered at this stage of implementation.

Financial Difficulties

Although a community-based approach to early childhood care was definitely less expensive because the resources of the community might be tapped, the programme was still saddled with the problem of generating sufficient funds to maintain its overall operations on a long-term basis. There were minimum expenses entailed in sponsoring seminars and training activities such as the cost of printing and reproduction of learning materials. The permanent working staff of the programme who devote all their time to it had to be properly compensated since they had no other source of income. An emergency fund had to be made available for certain urgent needs of the children such as medical expenses.

Given the present socio-economic crisis plaguing the country, it was imperative then to supplement the needs of the programme from external sources particularly from concerned and interested benefactors and private funding institutions. However, care should be taken not to become too dependent on these external sources or this will eventually defeat the goal of self-reliance so important to the programme.

Language Problem

Effectiveness in communicating the basic philosophy, principles and methods of childcare, rearing and education is hinged on the appropriate use of the language of the people in the community. This became a crucial problem in the implementation of the programme because the learning materials and the programme itself were written in English.

Although it was obvious that Filipino should be used to impart the concepts of childcare, the fact was that the trainers themselves were products of an educational system that gave primary emphasis to the use of English. The trainers also experienced great difficulty in translating the programme into the everyday language of the people. They were also caught in a dilemma regarding the medium of instruction for the children who will eventually use English when they formally go to school.

However, realising the importance of language in achieving the goals of the programme, a consensus was reached that all efforts must be geared towards developing an indigenous training programme and curriculum in Filipino that will facilitate and enhance the learning process.

Conflicting concerns of the volunteer members of the community

Though highly motivated and generally interested in the aims of the programme, most of the volunteer members of the community were unable to devote consistently their time to the programme. This lack of consistent participation is principally due to the attention given to the more pressing needs of earning a living. All other matters including the aspect of caring for their children were relegated to secondary importance.

Thus, even if there were many volunteers for the programme, they only stayed on for a short period of time afterwhich they were replaced by new ones. Considering the expenses involved in training them and the experience they have accumulated through actual practice, it was unfortunate that they were unable to see through the completion of the programme. This lack of a stable core of volunteers to insure the continuity of the programme greatly diminished its effectiveness.

Lack of co-operation of local officials and government agencies.

Sadly lacking, if not completely absent, is the support of local government officials and institutions to the programme. Neither did they have the time nor did they see the need for the programme. Some were threatened with the idea of people becoming self-reliant and making their own decisions. Others who promised to help eventually lost interest when the hard work of organising began. Also, government agencies were perenially saddled with lack of funds and bureaucratic red tape. Moreover, early childhood care was not a priority in their activities.

Inappropriateness of some parts of the curriculum for early childhood education

Inspite of conscious efforts to develop a holistic and interdisciplinary approach to the curricula, there still remained a dichotomy in the content of the curriculum and the given realities of the children's social environment. The relevance of the content of some parts of the curriculum when applied in the context of urban poor communities had been noted. This was especially observed in the design of some activities for the children in the day-care centres. Certain skills which were taught to middle-class children were automatically applied to the urban poor children. Thus, in the attempt to be broad and comprehensive in scope, there was a tendency to be sweeping and mechanical in the implementation of the whole package of childcare services without attuning them to the specific needs of the community where it was applied.

PROPOSED EVALUATION SCHEME

The dominant evaluation and research methods traditionally used in the Philippines are versions of the American and European models. These emphasise the construction of measuring instruments, the designing of tables of statistical results and interpretation of data by persons detached from the community and not familiar with the real-life situations of the subjects under study. Thus, the methodology of conventional social science research in the Philippines gives rise to an unequal relationship between the researcher and the people.

In keeping with the community-based character of the programme, what is needed is a method of evaluation that would increase the participants' understanding of their own experience through systematic and collective assessments. This method which has been called participatory research involves the full and active participation of the community in the entire process of research. The problem of research originates from the community itself and is defined, analysed and solved by the community.

This approach enables and encourages the researchers to enter into a relationship with the people on an equal level, inviting them to share their views and experiences while sharing their own. The researcher here is a

Agamic Psychology and Its Implication for Child Development Studies **

K.Loganathan Mutharayan

By agamic psychology is meant the psychological system embodied in the agamic/tantric tradition that goes by the name of Saiva Siddhanta. While it has been long in the making, it was formalised as a system by Mekander only in the 13th century and elaborated further by a host of able disciples and followers. The system bears partial resemblances to the basics of behaviourism, analytical psychology of C.G. Jung and others. However, it stands on its own with some distinctive features that are important for understanding the structure of human behaviour. Some explorative studies comparing the system with behaviorism and analytical psychology have already been published. In the course of these studies, it became obvious that the systems is foundamentally *developmental* with a distinctive concept of human development that may be of interest to clinical and child psychologists. What is also interesting is that the system is quite thorough-going and comprehensive, and provides a perspective within which we can fit together the different schools of psychology into a coherent whole. Also the system provides a framework for viewing the whole of human development, including moral and religious, within the conceptual framework of *learning.*

One of the most important features of the system is the classification of knowledge into three distinct types, viz. *paca jnanam* (instrumental knowledge), *pasu jnanam* (self-knowledge or knowledge of the subjective self) and *pathi jnanam* (transcendental knowledge or knowledge of Deity.)

This classification is founded upon two basic postulates of the system.

(1) There are three distinct categories of objects – innumerable psyches or selves, a single and unique Deity and a cluster of real entities that delimit, constraint and bind the psyches in many different ways. Any living creature is a Deity-Psyche-Physical Machine-Like system and any attempt to eliminate the Deity or the Psyche in the explanation of creature behaviour will be reductionistic and hence incomplete.
(2) Creature behaviour is essentially that of doing something, acting in order to accomplish something. Furthermore, it is taken to be a case of no changes without action and no action without changes of some kind or another.

Development is viewed as an outcome of actions effected by the creatures and is seen to consist in progressing from instrumental, objective knowledge to subjective self-knowledge and ending up with the tension relieving and self authenticating transcendental knowledge. The development is cognitive in a sense but it is more specifically acquiring new dimensions of consciousness whereby categorically, distinct entities become objects of cognition. It is a process whereby there is both differentiation within a categorical realm and expansion into 'deeper' and hidden object realms. It is also helped along actively by an intelligent Deity through the provision of moral sense within the psyches so that they can sense for themselves the direction of their own progress.

In the paper, an attempt is made firstly, to present the fundamental ideas in a more rigourous manner and secondly, draw out implications for child development studies.

An operational child does not distinguish the propositional awareness from the consciousness of the physical objects. The logical operations are effected upon the physical realms without this cognitive differentiation. The formal operational child on the other hand effects this differentiation and extends the logical operations to the realms of propositional awareness alone.

Overall then, the features of cognitive development as revealed by Piagetian type of studies reveal an increase and a greater differentiation in the psychological space of a child and hence a capacity or power to operate upon a more inclusive realm of objects. In other words, there is reduction in ignorance both in the realms of objects and that of operations.

Piagetian type of studies conducted throughout the world over the last three or four decades have established two things quite conclusively, viz:

(1) the sequence of development is an invariant, and
(2) the onset of the various stages of development may be conditioned by a multiple of ecological, social and cultural factors.

Now the sequence from appearances to objects and then to conceptual and propositional consciousness is natural enough. Similarly, there can be logical operations only subsequent to propositional consciousness. The development from an undifferentiated to differentiated state is also quite consistent with the view of agamic psychology where development is seen as the *reduction* of the scope of ignorance.

How are we to explain the fact that ecological, social and cultural factors influence the onset of different Piagetian stages? From the point of agâmic psychology, these contextual factors must be seen somehow to influence the *effort* of the child towards effecting a reduction in the scope of Darkness within itself. How does this take place?

We have seen that in γ-learning, the Supreme Deity is held in vision as smaller deities and that the psyche *becomes* these deities one after another progressively until it becomes indistinguishable from the supreme Deity itself. The learning is one of archetype – assimilation – with the archetypes understood as the individual's visions of the Supreme Deity limited either in universal consciousness (C), universal power (P) or universal love (L). Such primordial images take possession of the psyche, channelling its efforts to reduce the scope of the remaining Darkness within i.e. the hold of *anavam* in its psychic constitution. Now it seems to be reasonable to consider that such image-assimilation processes that is self-conscious during γ-learning, nevertheless, exists during the β-type and α-type of learning processes as well for they are aspects of universal processes. Unlike during γ-learning, however, it may be possible that such primordial images are *unconscious* during α-type and β-type of learning. In other words, what determines the psychic quality of *effortfulness* of a child may be some image that has taken possession of it, conditioning in an unconscious manner the direction and rate of expenditure of its psychic energy. The inducing of such unconscious images may be something related to the contextual features arising from the ecological, social and cultural environment in which the child grows up. Such a view is quite consistent with what Jung has said in many places to account for the motivational dynamics of an individual, 'S'.

In the context of γ-learning, a transition from the assimilation of one image to another constitutes a reduction in the hold of Darkness caused by *anavam*. This Darkness within the psychic consciousness, it should be noted, provides the primordial impetus for action. The other constraints are derivative, something acquired in the context of this basic struggle. This means that a shift from one image to another constitutes a fundamental process in the development of the intelligence of a person.

This understanding allows us to consider the important question we posed earlier on: What is the mechanism for increasing the intelligence of the child? It would appear that any activity that directly serves to reduce the Darkness within could effect such a development. Since this is related to image-assimilation processes, we should perhaps look more carefully at such processes in search of such procedures.

It may also be possible to link transitions from one assimilated image to another with *creative* learning. An act of creativity may in fact be a process whereby a person becomes unconsciously aware of a new image that begin to fascinate him. If this is so then, the procedures for making a person more intelligent may be related to the manner in which creative learning is stimulated, encouraged and sustained.

The γ-type of learning which is essentially one of image assimilation and the deepest that is somehow related to the basic universal processes (under the control of the Deity) may constitute the most important strand of learning, conditioning in an important way the other types of learning. It remains hidden and subterranean during the α-type and β-type of learning but surfaces to the forefront of conscious endeavour during the final phase. It is advances of image-transitions in γ-learning that may in fact be the determinant of stages of personal development.

WORKSHOP I

Main Theme

Child Development

A. Cognitive Development of Children

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Maznah Ismail*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mrs. Thong Lay Kim*

B. Mass Media and the Child

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. L. C. Owen*
CO-CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Colin Palmer*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mrs. Mogana Dhamotharan*

C. Parenting

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. J. F. Dunn*
CO-CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Chancha Suvannathat*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mrs. Liew Sau Pheng*

D. Emotional and Personality Development of Children

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Norman F. Kafer*
CO-CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. J. Garside*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mrs. Khairiah Ahmad*

E. Education of the Exceptional Child Including the Gifted Child

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Irving Sigel*
CO-CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor Chua Tee Tee*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mrs. Khadijah Rohani Mohd Yunus*

1A. Cognitive Development of Children

The workshop sub-theme assigned to the group was 'Cognitive Development of Children'. The discussion focused on the need to collect information about cognitive competence of Asian children. Hitherto, such information was derived from the findings of research which used Western samples, approaches and methodology, and instruments. The problems and issues that emerged were related to:

(1) Theoretical framework on cognitive development of children developed in the West might not be relevant to examine Asian situations and realities.
(2) Available instruments were mostly based on Western culture and when used on Asian children, they might not reflect or measure their cognitive competence.
(3) The English language used in assessing the cognitive competence of children could hinder its accurate assessment. This is especially important in Asia where a variety of language and culture prevails.

In view of the above, the group agreed that a study should be made to chart the cognitive development of Asian children. The findings could be useful for the development of the curriculum and instructional strategies in schools.

The area of study that was identified centred around the investigation of cognitive competence in the following:

problem-finding and problem-solving;
logical thinking;

creativity;
decision-making; and
representational thinking.

The independent variable included:

sex;
age (3–7 was chosen because this was considered to be a period of rapid development);
socio-economic status;
home environment (both human and non-human inputs);
language used in assessing cognitive competence;
home language; and
urban/rural areas.

The dependent variable to be assessed was cognitive performance in both physical and social domains related to:

problem finding and problem-solving;
decision-making;
creativity;
representational thinking; and
logical thinking.

Several approaches and instruments were suggested. They included:

naturalistic observation in play situations and home environments, etc.;
semi-structured testings; and
structured testings.

As for instruments, the following types could be used:

checklist;
observation schedules;
rating scales;
a battery of tests for representational competence, anticipatory skills, memory and imagery;
modified Piagetian testing kit; and
creativity tests following the necessary modifications.

The group also agreed that co-operation among interested nations should be encouraged.

Finally, the group participants discussed ways of facilitating the cognitive development of the children. The discussion was centred around three areas, namely (1) parental involvement (2) curriculum and teacher training and (3) mass media.

(1) *Parental Involvement*

It seems to us that in Asia, the work of providing activities and an environmentl that can stimulate the development of cognitive competence in children generally falls on the teachers. It is therefore necessary to convey to the parents that they have a joint responsibility with the teachers in this venture. It is suggested that there should be regular meetings (formal and informal) to which parents can be invited to discuss with the teachers ways of making school experience more relevant and meaningful to the children.

(2) *Curriculum and Teacher Training*

Curriculum for early childhood education should be reviewed every now and then to ensure that the learning experiences provided to the children are meaningful. Together with this, there should be a systematic programme for the training of kindergarten teachers in order to help them to perform their tasks effectively.

(3) *Role of the Mass Media*

Two kinds of mass media were discussed (1) non-printed works like televison and radio programmes, and (2) printed materials like books. With regard to the first, it is suggested that there should be more children's programmes that are educational in nature. A similar suggestion can be made for radio programmes. With regards to printed materials like books, it is suggested that good quality books be produced but at a lower price than what they are today. In this way, books can be made available to all children.

In many states, public libraries provide facilities su h as children's books and activities like story-telling sessions and painting classes. These facilities can provide useful learning experiences for the children. Parents should be informed of these facilities and be encouraged to bring their children to the libraries.

IB. Mass Media and The Child

The first session began with a 'free association' activity in which participants were invited to jot down words and phrases that came into their thinking in response to the title 'Mass Media' written in the centre of a page. These free associations were then combined by participants in pairs, then in fours, and then in two large groups. The intention was to develop a combined listing of all the spontaneous thinking so that salient themes might be identified by the group. The issues that emerged at the end of this session and the beginning of the second session are indicated below.

The effect of the child is to,be considered in relation to:

(1) Censorship – who are the censors accountable to?
  – who has control of censorship?
  – what are the choices?

(2) Role of parents/guardians

(3) Questions of worthwhileness (i.e. good and bad); the importance of teaching the child to enquire and to make informed choices.

(4) In a more general sense, what are the criteria on which worthwhileness can be judged? e.g. 'commercialism' and 'consumerism' are being presented as a way of being successful or being modern. So how do we distinguish this from raising the standard of living by promoting the use of recently developed products? Voilence and aggression are plentiful but do they have a bad effect?

(5) Development of critical thinking.

(6) Are there *any* effects that can be traced to the media themselves?

(7) Are the mass media mirrors of life in the host culture or are they determinants of it?

(8) Specific effect on the *Asian* child, with questions of *what* media in *what* social context?

(9) Effect of desensitising conscience, sense of alarm or moral scruples through repeated exposure.

(10) Overwhelming effect of foreign ways of life portrayed in the media on our own national culture.

(11) Do we blame the media for problems just because the media are so visible?

The second session dwelt mainly on the selection of a short list of issues that were causing concern and about which research was needed. The theme for this session became:

'I wish we knew'

(1) Whether the education of parents in 'media awareness' and child development might have a healthy impact on how children grow and think?

(2) How the mass media are 'used' in family life; what does media watching replace in family activities and is this bad?!

(3) What a child learns from television?
  – facts)
  – values) How do we decide whether it is 'good' or 'bad'?
  – thinking processes)

(4) Who is making programme decision about content; what groups have access; what is in 'bad taste' and must be censored; what is not in the 'national interest' and should not be shown/printed?
(5) How ordinary citizens might participate democratically in decisions about the mass media.
(6) How children's programming on TV might get more political clout, i.e. power in gaining resources (people, time, money).

At the end of the session, participants were asked to rank order the items in importance to each person individually and to bring this ranking to the following session.

At the beginning of the third session, the rank orders were combined. Items 1, 2 and 3 on the above list emerged clearly as the most crucial for the group, with item 4 also being seen as important. General discussion proceeded to suggest recommendations for the sort of investigations that might be carried out to gather information in answer to the main theme 'I wish we knew'. Matters raised included the questions:

What is popular and why, and with what ages and cultural sub-groups?
Do parents talk about the media and media stories with their children?
Is this a matter for conversational analysis in the home?
Which media are effective in doing what and why?
Parents are to be educated first. The question is how?

In the final analysis, the research issue raised at this point is: Why are some programmes and magazines more popular among children than others? The members present in this fourth session discussed the possible and practical research proposals primarily aimed at two audiences:

Level 1: Teachers and students who would benefit from such research; and,
Level 2: Parents and, more importantly, the policymakers.

What Are the Possible Research Areas?

Basically, two important aspects of the mass media were raised.

(1) What has *appeal?* (for example in the printed media)
(2) What has *impact?* (for example in the audio and visual media)

Bearing in mind the available research data and findings on these two aspects pertaining to the mass media, the workshop attempted to examine and formulate research methodologies.

What has appeal? (e.g. in magazines)

Technique	To assess	To or By whom	
Survey	Sales of magazines and newspapers	Children of different ages, SES groups and different races	
Choosing from a variety of items	Are psychological needs being met?	Children, parents and teachers	
Present a single item	Are psychological needs being met?	Ask children Ask parents Ask teachers	What is appealing or interesting

What Has Impact? (e.g. in television)

As Judged by Feedback
Submissions by children
Pen pal correspondence

in the form of behavioural response to programme content

With a Single Programme

	Pre	Immediate	Long-term
(a)	Pre-test	Atention span, concentration	
(b)	Attitude check (pre)	Programme	Attitude check (post)
(c)	Information (pre)	Programme	Information (post)

With Socio-economic Groups

With money to spend
Without money to spend

the appeal of fashion to different groups

On Peer Group Preferences

Friends
Strangers
In-group
Cliques

The workshop however concluded its session by posing the following questions:-

(1) Does television violence really have a negative impact on children?
(2) Does television 'teach' attitudes?
(3) Does television 'release' an attitude already presented?
(4) What is the impact of commercialism, particularly advertisements?
(5) What is the role of parents in the context of analysing the mass media (which certainly have come to stay)?

Although the group had no opportunity to diseuss research methologies for these questions during the workshop session because of the time factor, the intention here is to provide more research topics for further thought.

IC. Parenting

The primary focus of this workshop was upon the relationship between 'parenting' and social change considered within a general framework which encompassed (1) the child (2) the relationship and mutual influence of the child and those in the 'parenting' role (3) the relationship between mother, father, extended family members, surrogate caregivers etc. and (4) influences from outside the family: social, economic and political.

Within the broad framework of these four topics, the impact of social change upon Asian families was discussed and a number of general issues were identified as posing particularly urgent practical problems which should be the focus of research. Five specific research topics were selected.

Before describing the general issues identified and the research topics selected, a general point must be noted. In the reports from the other workshops, parenting was frequently referred to; it was stressed that parents should be trained, educated and made to alter their behaviour in a variety of ways. This issue of altering the parental behaviour of different cultural and socio-economic groups towards an acceptable model of parenting was discussed at length within the workshop on parenting. The conclusion drawn in our workshop was that we should recognise and accept that other groups may have very different values and attitudes than our own. We should attempt to establish what these beliefs and goals are and respect them rather than assume that our own values and goals should be imposed upon others. It is neither morally nor scientifically acceptable to presume that our own practices should be imposed upon others. It is not scientifically acceptable in the sense that the scientific grounds for presuming that some middle-class practices and beliefs are the most appropriate for children growing up in a variety of circumstances are not good.

ISSUES IDENTIFIED BY THE WORKSHOP

Interaction and Relationship between Parents and Children

(1) The need for a clearer understanding of parental goals and beliefs and practices within different cultural groups was stressed. This is essential if we are to work with parents faced with the problems of bringing up children in the 1980s and 1990s.

(2) A number of specific problems were highlighted:
   (a) Fatalism and ignorance in the face of children's difficulties or problems.
   (b) An over-emphasisis on academic achievement, and an under-emphasis on social/emotional development.
   (c) Lack of involvement of fathers in children.
   (d) Sudden changes in parental practices at certain stages of development, for example, the increasing pressure on children at the age of six.

(3) The importance of taking real account of the mutual influence of child and parent was stressed. Two examples highlighted were:
   (a) the effects of the child's greater fluency in a second language on the intimacy of the parent-child relationship.
   (b) the effects of the child's entry into school (influence of school norms and expectations upon the child, then affecting the parent).

(4) The strengths of Asian families was emphasised in the resilience and strength of the relations between parents and children.

The Family and the Broader Social Context

Specific problems highlighted were:

(1) The increasing employment of mothers. What are the consequences for children in Asian families? What child-care arrangements are available? What is their quality?

(2) The breakdown of 'neighbourhoods' and communities and support systems with urbanisation. How does this affect families and children at particular stages of development?

(3) Problems arising from parents abandoning their responsibility to institutions such as child-care agencies and schools. How can the organisation of child-care provision be improved? In particular, how can the relationship of parents and child-care workers be helped?

(4) Parental confusion about norms and roles in the face of changing society, new pressures and expectations.

Relationship Between Parenting/Caregiving Adults: Personality/ Mental State of Parents

Specific problems highlighted were:

(1) Problems with the attitudes and behaviour of Asian husbands towards their wives as mothers, as employed persons, as persons attempting to carry out all three roles.
(2) The contradiction and ambivalence in women's attitudes to being mother, wife and employed person simultaneously. How are these contradictions resolved/faced by Asian women?
(3) Problems related to the frequently remote and distant relationship between parents and those in caregiving roles in institutions.
(4) The strength of Asian families was emphasised in the commitment and concern of the extended family.
(5) In spite of the drive to achieve education and advancement, the strength of Asian families was emphasised in their resistance to divisive social change, their ability to focus on desirable aspects of change but at the same time to maintain family values.

Dissemination of Research and the Relationship Between Parents, Practitioners, Researchers and Social Policymakers

(1) These issues outlined above are not new. On some of them, considerable research effort has been expended and reports and social policy documents are available. However, the findings and implications of these reports rarely reach those for whom they are most relevant. The dissemination of research findings is an urgent practical issue.
(2) If research is to be conducted addressing the issues outlined, collaboration between academic researchers and practitioners and social policymakers is essential. How can this be achieved in the different Asian countries?

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH TOPICS

We selected five topics all of which were aspects of the general theme 'Changes in parental practices'. On these topics, the need is for systematic descriptive and transcultural studies.

(1) The relation between parental practices and 'surrogate' parents – that is child-care facilities – their quality and organisation.
(2) The involvement of fathers in child-rearing.
(3) Parental practices/expectations in relation to academic achievement/ emotional development.
(4) School-home relations, especially with regard to second language.
(5) The effects of maternal employment on parental practices.

METHODOLOGIES

Three issues were emphasised:

(1) The importance of employing a variety of methodological techniques to describe parenting behaviour at different levels of analysis.
(2) The importance of including naturalistic observation in the home.
(3) The inclusion of parental interviews.

ID. Emotional and Personality Development of Children

Problem

In the workshop on emotional and personality development, discussion centred on the learning process within three basic areas. These were: learning to interact with others; learning about self; and learning to cope with stress.

Learning to Interact With Others

Several questions were examined, namely: What are the processes underlying a child's ability to interact effectively with significant others such as parents, parent-substitutes, siblings, teachers, peers, etc.? What are the social skills that are prerequisites for effective interpersonal interaction and how are they learned? What is the relationship between a child's ability to form friendships and the development of interpersonal awareness? Why do some children develop feelings of vulnerability and begin to use inappropriate interpersonal strategies that lead them to being neglected or rejected by their peers? One area of concern was the child's ability to communicate freely and clearly. Here, we concentrated upon the possible relationship between the expression of feelings and emotions appropriately and effective communication. In particular, we were concerned about children who, because of generalised feelings of interpersonal vulnerability, expressed inappropriate non-verbal communication cues such as anxiety, fear or hesitancy that could be misinterpreted by others.

Learning About Self

Here, we examined factors associated with the development of a positive self-concept and conversely those associated with the development of low self-esteem. Such issues as self-direction, motivation, creativity and sex-role identification were explored. The importance of the link between how one feels about one's self and the extent to which we can express appropriate feelings and emotions in everyday social situations was underlined.

Learning How to Cope With Stress

Why do some children have difficulty in coping with stress? What are some of the sources of stress? After much discussion, the group concluded that learning to express feelings was a major factor in how children managed to cope with stress. In particular, it was felt that children needed to learn how to readily express feelings of anxiety, frustration or disappointment, boredom or loneliness, and happiness. A number of sources of stress were suggested, namely: separation from parents (divorce, death, psychological, etc.); concern about bodily appearance and functions; an over competitive environment; and family socialisation and disciplinary practices.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In making recommendations, the group focused on the importance of the role of the adult such as parents, teachers, etc. who, by either direct teaching or by serving as suitable models, helped the child to learn how to interact with others, to learn about self, and to learn how to cope with stress. Thus significant others could help by:

(1) Opening up communication channels with children.
(2) Encouraging and guiding children to express their emotions honestly; to direct feelings of anger, frustration or disappointment towards the situation rather than towards themselves or others; to express happiness as well as unhappiness.
(3) Encouraging children to express affection for others both verbally and physically.
(4) Encouraging desirable behaviour by positive reinforcement and discouraging undesirable behaviour by positive rather than negative means.
(5) Recognising the strengths and accept the weaknesses of the child.
(6) Encouraging responsibility in the child.
(7) Providing guidelines on ethcal and moral behaviour.

IMPLEMENTATION

As with the recommendations, the group focused on how adults could assist children to learn the skills associated with interaction with others, acceptance of self and stress management. In particular, we felt that the answer lay in education for parents and others. Steps in implementation could include the following:

(1) Government agencies, private organisations etc. could, in consultation with a team of experts in child care and development, organise

or sponsor courses in effective 'parenting' not only for parents but also for others who are closely associated with the care of children.

(2) In educational institutions, the extension of counselling programmes in schools, a strong emphasis on personal development in school curricula, and a strong focus on child care and development in teacher training programmes are also recommended.

(3) Publishers be encouraged to seek experts in the field to write articles and books on child care and development in the Asian context.

(4) Publishers be also encouraged to produce series of self-instructional books on personal development for children. Such books could be patterned on existing material, such as 'Who am I?', 'What am I?', 'Why am I?' and 'How am I?'. Of course, such material should be modified and adapted for the Asian context.

(5) Organise community-based educational projects for children which would involve them in the care and development of their own environment.

(6) Build recreational facilities and organise projects to encourage effective uses of leisure and provide opportunities for dissipation of any pent-up frustration.

PROPOSALS FOR RESEARCH

Before such recommendations could be implemented in an Asian context, we felt that it was essential to initiate a research programme in order to further our knowledge of the child's perceptions of self and others. Thus we suggested that interview, observational and questionnaire techniques be used to assess the following:

(1) How do children make friends? To what extent can current research into stages of children's friendship expectations be applied to the Asian context? What is the nature of the relationship between a child's perception and self, and his or her ability to interact appropriately with significant others?

(2) What problems do children perceive are associated with their learning about self, interacting with others and coping with stress?

In addition, we felt that the above techniques could also be used in order to explore parental perceptions and expectations, viz.:

(1) What problems do parents perceive their children have in learning about self, interacting with others and coping with stress?

(2) What are the effects of differences in parenting environments? For instance, what similarities and dissimilarities exist between single-parent and two-parent families? What effects do single environments have on a child?

Collection of these data could be used for adult education namely:

(1) The development and evaluation of television programmes, manuals etc. that would be aimed at teaching adults the skills associated with effective parenting.
(2) The development of methods that could assist mothers in need such as those in rural areas to develop a child's potential (e.g. creativity, self enhancement) during the first two years of life and childhood.

In addition, these data could be used for child education, viz.:

(1) The development and evaluation of television programmes that could teach children the skills associated with co-operation, competition, altruistic and helping behaviours, and acceptance of self and others. The project could possibly involve the adaptation/modification of existing programmes such as 'Sesame Street' to fit the Asian context.
(2) The production of a series of self-instructional books on personal development. Such books could be patterned on existing material, e.g. 'Who am I?', 'What am I?', 'Why am I' and 'How am I?'. This material would need to be adapted to suit the Asian context.
(3) The development of appropriate play materials utilising indigenous elements for children of various age levels and environments.

IE. Education of the Exceptional Child Including the Gifted Child

INTRODUCTION

After considerable discussion regarding the definition of the field of education of the exceptional child, it was decided that in spite of the diversity of classification of special children, there are at least six areas of concern that cut across the diverse populations. These are: classification, diagnosis, treatment or intervention, family role, training and public policy.

The objectives of the workshop, then, were two-fold (a) to focus on the practical ways of working within the so-called third world countries and (b) to identify a number of research questions that would contribute to such practical work. These two objectives guided the discussion in each of the categories.

Classification

The definition of the special child posed some challenge to the group. While some of the categories like 'mental retardation' seemed clear-cut, we realised, as we proceeded, that the definition is not independent of the types of tests used. So we listed the traditional categories of 'special' child.

The following categories were identified including mental retardation, learning disabilities, behaviour disorders, gifted and talented, sensory motor difficulties (hearing and vision) and physical handicaps.

Although these types were identified, the issue is how to generate a battery of reliable and valid tests to diagnose not only the particular deficit but also its depth and extent.

While we could identify an array of tests, the issues discussed under diagnosis persisted, namely, how to develop standardised tests which are relevant for particular cultures and how to evaluate teacher-based rating scales and observation.

To accomplish the objective of creating instruments requires clear concept of expected intellectual, social and biological status of the child. Much time is needed to arrive at good models of behaviour and specify the kinds of behaviours and abilities needed for school functioning.

Diagnosis

The issue here is whether to use existing tests and evaluation instruments or develop new ones appropriate to not only particular types of children but also to particular cultural and ethnic groups.

The group felt that reliable and valid diagnostic instruments are preferred for screening and diagnostic purposes. However, the group also realised the immediate need for such instruments and it was suggested that a two-pronged approach be undertaken:

(1) employ qualitative analysis as needed; and
(2) develop and/or adapt instruments as needed.

As can be seen from the list below of different types of instruments suggested as generally useful, it is apparent that adaptation of American and British standardised instruments are possible. However, rating scales (teacher and/or parent), or classroom observations are types of techniques that might prove useful. Examples of some of the tests mentioned are:

(1) Cattell Cultural Fair Intelligence Test
(2) Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale
(3) Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-R)
(4) Raven's Colored Progressive Matrices/Standard Progressive Matrices

Special recommendation was given by Dr. Sigel on the use of Raven's Standard and Colored Progressive Matrices because of (1) cultural-free (2) every item has its own psychological meaning so error analysis is a useful strategy; and (3) group test.

Gifted and Talented

Although giftedness at first seems simple, we readily became aware of the complexities of definition and of measurement. We sought to include in our conception not only IQ, but also talent and creativity. Each of these factors is important. The task is to devise measures for each and this posed problems. The group agreed that assessment of thinking abilities is needed and felt that being with such concepts as development and convergent thinking might be useful.

Here again, we were faced with identification of the child's status and concluded there are some tests where we minimise cultural factors, for example, the Raven Test of Progressive Matrices.

Treatment and Remediation for Gifted Children

(1) Special curriculum.
(2) Consultation with parents.
(3) Educational opportunities:
    express classes
    special classes
    enrichment materials
    withdraw system.
(4) Organisation of school programmes to meet the needs of these students.

Role of Parents

(1) Parental involvement; and
(2) Parental needs: for parents to understand their children's problems and services/resources available for them.

Policy and Legal Responsibilities of the School and Government

Parents should know the rights of their children guaranteed by law.

SUMMARY

In general, three major issues permeated our discussion:

(1) Finding the best tests and/or procedures for diagnosis and classification.
(2) Developing appropriate educational and/or remediation programmes for the children.

(3) How to get the necessary information to answer questions 1 and 2. This last point led us to ask a number of research or data-based questions. Research questions dealt also with the investigations of underlying factors in the family, school and community.

Specific Research questions are:

(1) Evaluation effectiveness of remediation and/or educational programmes of 'special children'.
(2) Identify the role of the family in influencing a special child's life, e.g. parental values and beliefs regarding children's special needs.
(3) Construct appropriate educational measures of intellectual, social and personality variables.
(4) Undertake cross-cultural studies on each of the above.
(5) Examine development of children with handicaps in terms of personal-social variables.

The group felt that cross-cultural research was very important and useful to encourage such efforts. However, they also felt that much more work and time has to be spend in developing communication channels among the various countries represented at ISSBD.

WORKSHOP II

Main Theme

Adolescent Development

A. Problems of Adolescents

CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor Chiam Heng Keng*
CO-CHAIRPERSON	*Professor Keiko Kashiwagi*
RAPPORTEUR	*Associate Professor Ng See Ngean*

B. Values, Culture and Change in Relation to Adolescent Development

CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor Daphne Keats*
CO-CHAIRPERSON	*Professor Jan de Wit*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. Chandraseagran Suppiah*

C. Schooling and Adolescence

CHAIRPERSON	*Mr. Leo Kennedy*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. Chan Kim Hong*

D. Preparation for Adulthood

CHAIRPERSON	*Associate Professor Mohd Yunus Mohd Noor*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. Moses Samuel*

E. Leisure and Recreation

CHAIRPERSON	*Dr. Jaya Nagaraja*
CO-CHAIRPERSON	*Mr. T. Vasudevan*
RAPPORTEUR	*Mr. C. R. Subramaniam*

IIA. Problems of Adolescents

The seventeen participants identified the following major problem areas:

(1) Communication with
  - parents
  - teachers
  - siblings
  - peer

(2) Conflicting Values
  - theirs with elders and parents
  - modern vs. traditional
  - own vs. other cultures
  - theirs with changing values

(3) Schooling
  - emotional stress and anxiety
  - self-concept
  - conflict between planners and pupil
  - conflict between planners and pupil
  - examinations
  - interpersonal relations

(4) Physical and Biological Changes
  - developmental process
  - developmental tasks
  - stress
  - sex
  - self-control

(5) Leisure and Recreation

(6) Adjustment to
  - changing environment
  - biological changes

(7) Loneliness

Problem areas 1 and 2 i.e. communication and conflicting values were chosen for further discussion with the latter receiving the most attention in the second session. Among the many examples of conflicting values cited were:

(1) Difference between rural and urban living values.
(2) Difference between expectation of sex roles.
(3) Different religious values.
(4) Conflicting values within parents themselves – parents who were brought up in the traditional way are presently bringing up their children using Western methods and ideals. They feel threatened when their children exert their independence.
(5) Difference between school and home values.
(6) 'Unfair' economic demands of parents: parents who expect their children to look after them and insist that they send money home. The children are caught between the need to support the parents and their own needs which are already difficult to meet with their salaries.
(7) Identity problems as a result of changing roles of males and females.

In discussing problem area 'communication', participants examined the reasons for the lack of communication with parents. The reasons are:

(1) Parents lack time.
(2) Competition with television.
(3) Parents' fixed ideas and imposing them on children.
(4) Parents do not know how to listen.
(5) Different education/educational background of parents.

This lack of communication and 'empty homes' tend to drive pupils to undesirable behaviour and activities.

The workshop also spent some time on problems arising from physical, biological and psychological changes and concluded that such changes are sources of stress to the adolescent. Moreover, at that age, they are also particularly sensitive and have to be handled carefully.

The following general proposals to help to alleviate, if not to overcome, some of the problems were made:

(1) Educating parents about adolescent problems.
(2) Educating adolescents to cope with some, if not all, of the problems.
(3) Retraining of teachers to help them to cope with adolescent problems.
(4) Parenting programmes for youth.

The above can be achieved through the mass media, television, radio, family planning units and voluntary organisations. In order to help adolescent with serious problems, an increase in the number of trained counsellors is advocated.

Numerous research problems were proposed. It was agreed that the following research problems are important:

(1) Identifying the problems of adolescents and their intensity. It was suggested that this should be done in several stages. There should be a free response questionnaire at the initial stage because the inventory may not include problems which are genuinely experienced by the adolescents and they may check problems which are not genuinely felt by them. This questionnaire should be followed by case studies to learn more of the problems and to ascertain their intensity. Many problems are likely to be felt by students but they are not serious and may have little effect on the behaviour and mental health of the adolescents. From the free response questionnaire and case studies, an inventory can be drawn up. This will enable cross-cultural comparisons to be made. With such comparisons, we may be able to identify how culture can generate problems for the adolescents. The inventory can be used by counsellors in the initial stage of counselling for it will enable the counsellor to gather a general picture of the situation.

(2) Case studies to enable parents, teachers, counsellors and educators to have knowledge of what the adolescents expect of them and how they view their world and that of the adult.

(3) Identification of coping strategies of adolescents. A much more effective way for parents, teachers and counsellors to help adolescents to overcome their problems is to know how the successful/effective adolescents cope with their problems. Not only are some adolescents more capable in coping with their problems but also some of them are capable of coping with one set of problems but not with another. Knowledge of the coping strategies of adolescents will enable the teacher training institutions to train teachers to help adolescents to cope with their problems.

(4) Constructing diagnostic measure to identify high and low-risk adolescents. Such knowledge will help to nip the problem in the bud.

(5) Research to identify the relationship between self-concept and adjustment ability.

(6) Knowledge of the sexual development of adolescents, their feelings and also how they cope with them.

(7) Investigation and the extent of conflict between traditional and current values.

The following recommendations were made:

(1) A need for large-scale research to obtain national norms and to gather base-line data.
(2) There is a need for a dialogue between researcher and practitioner. This dialogue should not be restricted to the practitioner informing the researcher what data are needed and the researcher providing the practitioner with the research findings. The practitioner should take an active part in the planning and conduct of the research.
(3) A more systematic and effective method of dissemination of knowledge and research findings.

IIB. Values, Culture and Change in Relation to Adolescent Development

After a preliminary discussion of problems relating to changes in values occurring in contemporary Asian societies, it seemed clear to the group that the theme of 'Values, Culture and Change in Relation to Adolescent Development' might well be studied by examining perceived conflicts of values.

Some of the major sources of such conflicts brought forward by the participants were related to intergenerational differences, particularly in regard to the degree of autonomy accorded to adolescents in regard to marriage, getting a job, and the educational demands placed on adolescents by their parents. Other potential sources of conflict discussed were the differential treatment of siblings and of boys and girls, and the transition from rural to urban living.

After these discussions, three themes emerged as possible foci for research:

(1) Identification of perceived sources of value conflict. (The distinction between the existence of a problem and the perception of a difference as a source of conflict was stressed).
(2) Methods of coping with value conflicts – positive and negative.
(3) Developmental changes in perceptions and coping strategies.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To examine these issues, the group proposed that:

(1) The age range for adolescence should be interpreted broadly, i.e. 10–20 years, as many Asian young people are still at school at the

age of 19–20 and do not enjoy adult status.

(2) The study should be cross-cultural and cross-national. (The members of the group included representatives from Malaysia, Australia and Thailand, and the two chairpersons were from Australia and the Netherlands).

(3) Both boys and girls should be included – there may be an interaction between age and sex which shows that the ages of greatest conflict differ among boys and girls.

(4) Rather than attempt a wide ranging and hence superficial survey, it would be better to concentrate on in-depth treatment with special groups whose characteristics could be defined. 'At risk' groups would meet these criteria and provide a valuable source of data on those who coped successfully and those who did not. If desired and if feasible, it would be possible also to carry out longitudinal studies to follow up these adolescents over a longer period. The identification of 'at risk' groups would be derived from such sources as statistical and demographic information (e.g. places of rapid housing development, crime and suicide rates), reviews of relevant literature, discussions with relevant persons and field workers, and types of problems frequently dealt with in counsellors' casework.

(5) The research methodology recommended is by structured interview. Both open-ended and closed format questions could be used but the interview schedules should be short and the questions simple but relevant to the context and the groups. Interviewers should be trained carefully as social desirability in responding will be a factor to be considered.

Using this approach, the investigation of the problem could be carried out either on a large or a small scale, and over a period of time using a series of different groups. This approach also has some immediate practical applications as ways of alleviating stress arising from conflict may be developed on the basis of the evidence obtained. This is acceptable cross-culturally as it does not rely on the use of instruments designed for different cultures or normed on inappropriate subject populations. It is also adaptable to any number of Asian countries as the identification of 'at risk' groups will always be in terms of the context of the subjects' own social and cultural environments.

IIC. Schooling and Adolescence

The group identified the needs of adolescents that schools should be responsible for. We listed the major ones as cognitive, adjustment, social and personality and psycho-motor. It was felt that, by and large, schools were not meeting these needs. For a majority of students, the school curriculum was inappropriate. There was too much emphasis on vocational skills and not enough on what we choose to call 'living skills'.

Adjustments were required and these related to:

(1) an emphasis on meaningful learning rather than examination oriented learning;
(2) greater consideration of the demands of society;
(3) the focus on 'overall' development; and
(4) guidance and counselling.

These adjustments had implications for teacher-training programmes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) Discontinuation of the practice of 'streaming'.
(2) More extra-curricular activities that involve parents as well.
(3) A greater measure of career guidance and counselling should be made available to students and parents.

The following areas for research have been identified:

(1) *Guidance and Counselling*
The perceptions of parents and students with regard to what a counsellor does and should do. Data on different ethnic groups can be collected.

(2) *Parent/Teacher Association* (PTA)
The amount of contribution to the school made by the PTAs should be ascertained. The assumption is that the socio-economic status and educational level of parents are determining factors of PTAs and their effectiveness.

(3) *Parents' Ambitions*
The status that parents attribute to various professions/jobs can be measured by asking the parents to rank order them. At present, parents tend to choose high-status professions for their children. It will be useful to ascertain if there is any difference between what parents want for their children and what the children think they themselves are capable of.

(4) *Students' Expectations*
A measure of the students' own expectations of success will be helpful. Are their expectations realistic? How do we find out who *really* makes the decision about careers?

IID. Preparation for Adulthood

FIRST MEETING

This was essentially a brainstorming session on the workshop topic 'Preparation for Adulthood.' It was generally acknowledged that there was a paucity of localised Asian research on the topic and whatever research that was forthcoming was, in many cases, limited to small-scale investigations. There was a need for national/cross-national investigations of this important area.

Several broad themes were identified in the wide-ranging discussion.

(1) *Role of the Home in the Preparation for Adulthood*

Participants stressed the need to examine or even re-examine child-rearing practices, family relationships and the value-orientation of the home/family unit in so far as these may affect the preparation of adolescents for adulthood.

(2) *Role of the Education System in the Preparation for Adulthood*

Among the questions raised were 'What is the worth of the educated man?' How far does the education system effectively help adolescents participate in organised groups? Does it provide leadership training or suitable leisure activities? The role of moral education, 'family life education' and the development of values were discussed.

(3) *Preparation for the World of Work*

How far does the education system prepare adolescents for work? work? Is there a mismatch between the education system and the dynamics of labour market?
The role of career guidance was raised. How realistic is career guidance in our schools and institutions of higher education? Does it develop in our adolescents unrealistic expectations which society will not be able to fulfil?
The challenges facing rural youth was also highlighted, recognising that many of the countries participating had sizeable rural population.

SECOND MEETING

In its second meeting, the group decided to focus on the first of the three themes identified in Workshop I i.e. 'The Role of the Home in the Preparation for Adulthood'. This was to enable a closer examination of this theme and to identify possible, though tentative, research areas for subsequent consideration.

In the examination of the role of 'the home', it was felt appropriate that a distinction be made between homes in three settings: (1) rural (2) urban-slum and (3) urban.

Urban Setting

In the light of the rapidly changing urban lifestyle and with the prospect of having both parents working, participants asked whether the family could *still* play a crucial role in the preparation of adolescents for adulthood.

The group identified two problem areas in parental involvement in the preparation for adulthood.

(1) Exposure of children to their parents, not only in terms of the amount of time spent with children but with the quality of the time spent.

(2) Parental involvement in the education system with particular focus on parent-teacher associations (PTAs).

Among the questions raised and discussed were the following: what do parents perceive of the PTA's? *More crucially*, 'Does parental participation in the education system help prepare children for adulthood?'

Possible Research Area: Is there a significant difference in achievement, motivation, adjustment etc. between children whose parents take an active part in school activities and those who do not? The role of parents outside the formal education system was also considered. What is the role played by childrens' exposure to art, music, dance, self-defence classes/activities in their preparation for adulthood? Could the involvement of children in these activities actually be perceived as compensation for direct parental involvement in their children's environments? How much of the preparation of adolescents for adulthood actually reflects parental needs rather than child-centred needs and interests.

Rural Setting

The brief discussion on the rural setting focused on rural-urban migration and the 'culture-shock' of rural adolescents moving to urban centres for employment/education. Among the issues raised were 'What kind of support system would fully residential schools provide in the preparation for adulthood?'

THIRD MEETING

Recommendations

(1) Recognising that both the school and the home have a crucial role to play in the preparation for adulthood, the group *recommends* a reorganisation of PTAs so that they would also concern themselves with issues relating to the personal development of the child.
Students also have a supportive role in PTAs and it is recommended that PTAs also be parent-teacher-student associations.

(2) While efforts at career guidance are commendable, the group recommends the enlargement of the range of available jobs that students are exposed to.

(3) In regard to (2) above, a directory of jobs and their descriptions (as is currently available) is commendable. However, this directory would need to be updated regularly and disseminated to schools.

FOURTH MEETING

The group identified the following research areas in addition to those indicated during the second meeting:

(1) Identification of needs of youth in the light of their preparation for adulthood. What do youth expect from their parents? What are the needs during different stages of their growth: early childhood, late childhood, early adolescence, late adolescence?

(2) The validation and adaptation of tests of aptitude for different job types. Having developed/adapted/validated these instruments (e.g. tests of dexterity, mechanical aptitude etc.), there is a need to define norms of performance required by different occupations across different countries in the Asian region.

IIE. Leisure and Recreation

Following discussions, the group made a number of recommendations as indicated below.

(1) The Problem – Recognition of the importance of leisure and child and adolescent development.

(2) Research Area – Need for investigation into the importance of leisure and recreational activities in the developing phases of the child and the adolescent in reducing behaviour disorders from 0–4, 5–12, 13–19 year old age group.

(3) Involvement – Parents
Teachers
The candidates themselves — Children / Adolescent
Community
The agencies/government

(4) The Research – Phase I: Collection of data as to the perspectives of leisure time activities from

(a) Parents
(b) Teachers
(c) Subjects and in rural/urban settings.

Cognizance is taken of the culture, religion, ethnic groups, socio-economic status and personality of individuals.

Phase II: Collection of data as to the availability of leisure time activities

– in the community
– in schools/institution
– at home.

Phase III: Correlation of leisure/recreational activities in reduction of behaviour problems in rural/urban child and adolescent population. The above data is to be correlated transculturally.

Phase IV: Recommendation to be made to the government and curriculum planners.

(5) Tools (instruments) Interviewing Techniques.
Questionnaires.
Observations.
(The study should have the same instruments for cross-cultural investigation with minimal change to suit the locality or area).

(6) Funding – To investigate resources available in each participating country. Efforts be made to agencies in and outside Malaysia for financial assistance.

(7) Personnel – Available persons from institutions of the country of research. Research officer be appointed for a period of two years.

Closing Address

The Honourable Datin Paduka Rosemary Chong, Deputy Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Malaysia.

I am very glad to be here with you today to present the certificates. The certificates should not be regarded merely as momentoes of your having been here but they are an acknowledgement of your contribution to the Third Asian Workshop on Child and Adolescent Development as well as an acknowledgement of having benefitted from it.

The six days must have been rather exhausting, judging from the crowded schedules. You may find the views of the authors of the papers conflicting. Consequently, some of you may be confused, frustrated and even disillusioned by these inconclusive and conflicting findings. You should not feel so. Psychology is still a comparatively young science. Furthermore, human nature is very complex. Each human being is unique so that it is difficult at times to predict how the person will react or behave under certain conditions. Two children brought up in the same environment may exhibit very different characteristics. Even identical twins brought up in the same environment are known to respond in different ways to the same stimulus. A counselling technique which is effective with one individual may be disastrous with another. Instead of being turned off by the complexity of the subject, you may be challenged to pursue further. Your realisation of how little you know of human nature should spur instead of deter you from attempting to understand it better.

You should continue to research into the psychology of man because knowing how an individual will react under certain conditions and why he/she reacts in that particular manner will contribute towards the well-being of the individual as well as the development of the nation. Parents often despair; they do not know what is wrong with the children, what themselves have committed or what remains to be done. For example, in spite of the voluminous research on drug abuse, we are no nearer to its solution. If anything else, the problem has worsened. More and more children and adolescents have become victims of drug addiction in Asian countries.

Child abuse and wife battering are problems which are becoming more and more widespread. Abuse of parents, especially when they are ageing, is not uncommon. Filial piety which had been a part of the Asian way of life has become archaic to many a child. Aged parents are left to fend for themselves. Incentives have to be offered to persuade children to allow their aged parents to stay with them. In some Asian countries, laws have been passed to ensure that children look after their elderly parents. Why has the nature of human beings deteriorated? What has created such aggressiveness? Why do people have less concern, empathy and loyalty towards their parents? These are the kinds of behaviour which psychologists need to research into.

Our children are the future citizens of the country. How we nurture them will affect the society of tomorrow. Studies have shown that those who abuse their children are themselves the victims of child abuse. The way we handle children, parents, friends, authorities and the society will influence the way our children handle their children, parents, authorities and the future society. So, I am glad to note that you have discussed not only the development of children and adolescents but also parenting in your workshops. I hope the discussion on parenting has brought about the awareness of the impact of parental behaviour on children.

I am very glad that we are able to host the Third Asian Workshop on Child and Adolescent Development. The theme 'Preparation for Adulthood' is very appropriate and important for two reasons. Firstly, in discussing children and adolescent development, we are actually thinking of their future. We are studying ways of helping them to become mentally healthy and useful citizens. Secondly, 1985 is the International Year of the Youth. My Ministry, the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, is involved and we hope that this Workshop will generate ideas for us. The International Year of the Youth should create in youths the awareness of their importance and their contribution to the nation. We also need to have programmes which will benefit young people.

We have provided preparation and/or training for jobs in school, colleges, universities and in the place of work. However, we have yet to prepare young people for parenthood. We have assumed that this knowledge of how to be good parents comes naturally or that it can be learned incidentally. In the days of extended family, learning how to be good parents can occur through examples. With the establishment of nuclear and small families in today's society, many youths have no notion of how to nurture children. Furthermore, many do not realise the responsibilities of parenthood. Many youths fall in love and get married without even realising the responsibilities and realities of married life. The responsibilities of friendship, love, marriage and parenthood have to be instilled into our youths. We have to consider seriously how this should be implemented.

I hope you had an enjoyable and beneficial time during the past six days. To those who intend to remain longer to know more of our country, I wish you a happy stay and to those who are leaving for home soon after the Workshop, I wish you a safe and pleasant journey.

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Professor Jurgen Zimmer, Freie Univ Berlin Z1 7, WE 10, Habelschwerdter Allee 45, 1000 Berlin 33, West Germany.

Programme

Sunday 8 April

1400 – 1800	Registration

Monday 9 April

0800 – 0845	Registration
0900 – 1000	Opening Ceremony by Yang Berhormat Datuk Khalil b. Yaakob, Deputy Minister of Education
1000 – 1030	Tea
1030 – 1100	Welcoming Address by Yang Mulia The Royal Professor Ungku A. Aziz.
1100 – 1230	Paper I
1230 – 1400	Lunch
1400 – 1530	Symposium I
1530 – 1600	Tea
1600 – 1730	Paper II

Tuesday 10 April

0900 – 1030	Symposium II
1030 – 1100	Tea
1100 – 1230	Paper III
1230 – 1400	Lunch
1400 – 1530	Workshop I
1530 – 1600	Tea
1600 – 1730	Symposium III

Wednesday 11 April

0900 – 1030	Symposium IV
1030 – 1100	Tea
1100 – 1230	Paper IV
1230 – 1400	Lunch
1400 – 1530	Symposium V
1530 – 1600	Tea
1600 – 1730	Workshop II
2030 – 2230	Conference Dinner

Thursday 12 April

0900 – 1030	Paper V
1030 – 1100	Tea
1100 – 1230	Symposium VI
1230 – 1400	Lunch
1400 – 1530	Workshop III
1530 – 1600	Tea
1600 – 1730	ASSHD Meeting
2030	Hospitality Night

Friday 13 April

0900 – 1030	Report I
1030 – 1100	Tea
1100 – 1230	Workshop IV
1230 – 1500	Lunch
1500 – 1630	Workshop IV (continuation)
1630 – 1700	Tea
1700 – 1830	Meeting of Chairpersons and Rapporteurs.

Saturday 14 April

0900 – 1030	Report II
1030 – 1100	Tea
1100 – 1200	Closing Ceremony by Yang Berhormat Datin Paduka Rosemary Chong, Deputy Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports
1200 – 1300	Lunch
1400	Tour

Organisation

Consultative Committee

Chairperson	Assoc. Prof. Mohd. Yunus Mohd. Noor
Co-Chairperson	Prof. Isahak Haron
Secretary	Assoc. Prof. Chiam Heng Keng
Members	Assoc. Prof. Amir Awang
	Assoc. Prof. Chua Tee Tee
	Assoc. Prof. Wan Rafaei Abdul Rahman
	Prof. Atan Long
	Mrs. Cheng Yin Mooi
	Miss Norminshah Sabrin (until 18 October, 1983)
	Mrs Mariam bt. Ujang (from 18 October, 1983)
	Assoc. Prof. Lim Hong Kuan

Organising Committee

Chairperson	Assoc. Prof. Chiam Heng Keng

Finance Committee

Chairperson	Assoc. Prof. Chua Tee Tee
Members	Mrs. Mogana Dhamotharan
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Members	Mrs. Khairiah Ahmad

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Co-Chairperson	Assoc. Prof. Leong Yin Ching
Members	Assoc. Prof. Ling Chu Poh
	Mrs. Lily Chew Suk Men
	Mrs. Norata Bahari

Reception Committee

Chairperson	Mrs. Cheng Yin Mooi
Co-Chairperson	Dr. Rohana Zubir
Members	Dr. E.P. Thavaraj
	Miss Prema Kumari Paramasiran
	Miss Salmah Mohd Noor
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	Mrs. Thong Lay Kim
	Mr. Leonard Yong
	Mr. T. Vasudevan
	Mrs. Norjanah Ismail
	Mr. Lew Tan Sin
	Dr. A.L. Ramaiah

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for officiating the opening ceremony of the Workshop.

The Honourable Datin Paduka Rosemary Chong,
Deputy Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports,
for officiating the closing ceremony and hosting the farewell lunch.

Yang Mulia The Royal Professor Ungku A. Aziz,
Vice-Chancellor of University of Malaya,
for his welcoming address and sponsorship of the welcoming dinner. We would also like to thank him for the interest and support given to us.

The Honourable Professor Dato' Hajah Asmah Hj. Omar,
Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya,
for hosting the welcoming dinner.

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University of Malaya Cooperative Bookshop Ltd.,
P & J Coates (M) Bhd., Genting Highlands, Annie Boutique,
Esso, Video FR, Bank Bumiputra, Micro World (M) Sdn. Bhd.
for their donations through their advertisements in the official programme.

The High Commissions of Australia, Canada, India, Singapore, Sri Lanka and the United Kingdom, and Embassies of Western Republic of Germany, Sweden, Pakistan, United States of America, Japan, Korea, Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Bangladesh and Egypt for the loan of their national flags.

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The Bursar and his officers for handling the financial matters of the Workshop.

Hosts of the Hospitality Night.

To all others who have helped in one way or another to make this Workshop a success, we wish to say *terima kasih* (thank you).

Donors

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> University of Malaya, Mohamed Noah Foundation, Multipurpose Holdings Berhad, Federation of Family Planning Association of Malaysia, Sabah Foundation and the Managing Director of Shell Companies in Malaysia for contributing towards the cost of hosting this Workshop.
>
> International Development Research Centre for sponsoring twelve foreign participants to the Workshop and donating towards the publication of the Proceedings.
>
> International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development for sponsoring three invited speakers.
>
> Goethe Institute for sponsoring an invited speaker.
>
> The Tourist Development Corporation, Malaysia for donating the Workshop brochures.
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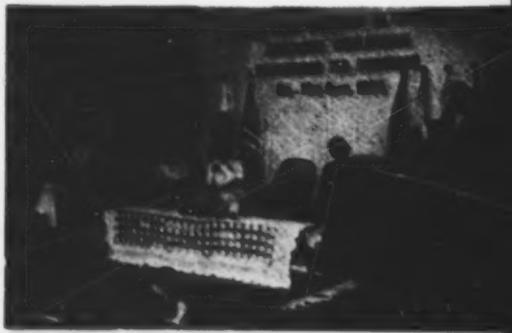
> Selangor Pewter Sendirian Berhad for donating the gifts.
>
> Unesco for meeting the publication cost of this Proceedings.

Highlights of the Workshop in Photographs

Registration of Participants

Opening Speech by Yang Berhormat Datuk Khalil b. Yaakob, Deputy Minister of Education



Some Guests at the Dinner Hosted by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic Affairs) of the University of Malaya, Professor Dato Hajah Asmah Hj Omar

A Duet by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Student Affairs) of the University of Malaya, Associate Professor Mohd. Yunus Mohd. Noor, and the Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Malaya, Professor Isahak Haron

Tea Break

A Symposium in Session

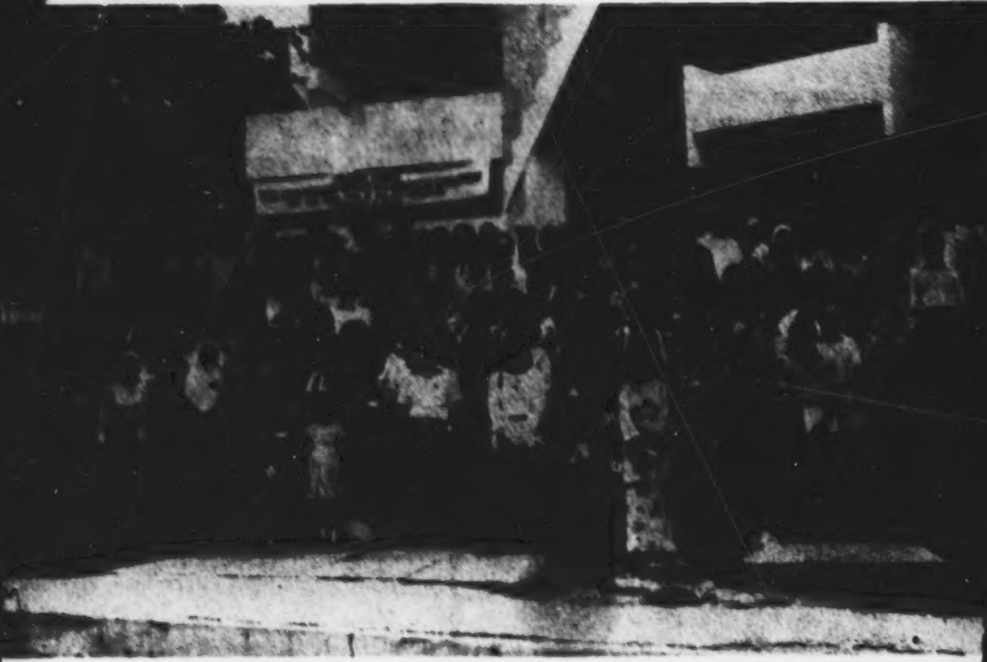
A Workshop in Session

Hospitality Night

THIRD ASIAN WORKSHOP

Closing Speech by Yang Berhormat Paduka Rosemary Chong, Deputy Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports

Presentation of Certificates



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